

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. XI, No. 11

NOVEMBER, 1922

TOTAL No. 77

COMMENT

The recently prepared home rule charter for San Diego county, California, cannot be submitted to the voters, according to the state supreme court, because the board which drafted it filed it one day later than required by law.

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Rahway, New Jersey, by means of municipal milk stations, brought the price of grade A milk from 18 to 12 cents. The mayor's commission which recommended such stations explains that the milk will have to be sold in bulk and must be called for at the stations. Certainly this will eliminate the three or four wagons which cover the same street, but there are other serious wastes in the milk business which it will not touch.

✱

The weekly, interchangeable pass is one of the weapons being used by street railways in their last gallant stand against bankruptcy and utter dissolution. The most recent user of the pass system is the Chicago elevated railway system, but it has had its real tests in smaller communities. For example, in Terre Haute or twenty other cities, you can buy a card good for the calendar week at the reasonable price of, say, one dollar. It is good for any number of rides for the bearer. Walter

H. Jackson, who introduced the idea, says, "We surely make 'em ride."

✱

*The Labor Review of
Labor Defends Dayton is strenuously
Dayton Charter opposing the effort to
abolish the manager plan
in one of the first cities to adopt it.*
In a strong editorial in the issue of September 29 it refutes two falsehoods being spread about by those who would return to the federal form. They are (1) that the manager plan is responsible for the higher tax rate, and (2) that the city's debt has grown to more than thirty million dollars. As a matter of fact the city's share of the tax levy has grown from only \$7.10 to \$9.13, and the total indebtedness is just \$9,271,280. This latter figure includes \$2,071,000 of water works bonds, whose interest and amortization is met from water receipts.

A real source of discontent seems to be the unrepresentative character of the city council. The charter would be improved and unrest allayed by the adoption of P. R. for the election of councilmen.

✱

*County Progress in
North Carolina*
As an outgrowth of continued agitation for reform in county government, Governor Morrison of North Carolina

has appointed a commission to report to the next legislature a plan for improvement. Professor E. C. Branson, a member of our council, is the active spirit in the movement. Dr. E. C. Brooks, state superintendent of public instruction, is also urging reform along county manager lines and has backed up his campaign by stirring speeches based upon specific studies of North Carolina counties.

In a recent address, Dr. Brooks refers to Pitt county which he thinks is the most efficiently governed county in the state. The Pitt county commissioners have employed a full time auditor and given him executive powers somewhat similar to those which a county manager would have. He makes up the tax books and superintends all buying. Under this official, \$2,000,000 of additional property was put on the tax books, some of which had escaped taxation for years. Uncollected taxes in Pitt county have fallen to one per cent of the total while ten to fifteen per cent is the normal for many other counties.

*

"*Make Politics is the slogan adopted by Your Job*" *The American Boy* in a campaign to educate and interest boys in politics. The series of stories and fact articles, which is to direct them to their civic responsibilities, began with a story of a high school "ring" which was quickly vanquished (too quickly, almost) when the high-minded boys asserted their power.

"*Make politics your job*" is a healthy slogan for a democracy and is good for young and old alike. Unfortunately, as described in the article in last month's REVIEW entitled "The Political Ambitions of College Students," the advice usually is, "John, keep out of politics."

The American Boy deserves our

thanks for a well planned effort to improve government by restoring a sound interest in politics. The word has fallen upon evil days but it is time that it was restored to respectability. Citizen and politician ought to be synonymous.

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*Los Angeles
Plans on
Big Scale*

The Regional Planning Conference of Los Angeles county held its fourth annual meeting at

Verdugo Canyon last September. We predict that this organization will make history. Its purpose is to plan and regulate the development of Los Angeles and surrounding communities. The physical make up of this area consists of a metropolitan center surrounded by many satellite communities, all to be connected by suitable transportation facilities, to be supplied with pure water, to be provided sanitary sewers and given easy access to parks and boulevards.

What is advocated is a "metropolitan system" which will give to suitable county agencies control over matters of general concern but which will encourage the individual identity of the constituent parts.

What is aimed at is a new federalism in the government of metropolitan areas. During the past generation a new type of community has developed adjacent to our larger cities. Our traditional forms of local government are not adapted to it, and a new form must be designed. The problem is easy to state. "A central authority over matters of general concern but full individuality for each part in local affairs" sounds easy, but how is it to be worked out in practice?

The trouble is that, for such an area, some problems are urban while others are rural. For the government of such neither municipal or county government as we know them are satisfactory.

ESCANABA ADOPTS CORPS OF CITY MANAGERS

ALSO ADMINISTRATIVE CODE

BY ROBERT T. CRANE
University of Michigan

Escanaba, Michigan, is the first city to adopt an ordinance setting up a complete administrative code. It is the first city, also, to establish a city-manager corps in place of a single manager. :: :: ::

THE charter of Escanaba places no restrictions whatever on the power of the council to organize the administrative forces of the city beyond the requirement that the council shall appoint a city manager with entire and exclusive control over whatever organization may be established. Limitations have been placed only upon administrative methods.

CHARTER SILENT ON ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

In the exercise of the complete discretion thus vested, the council has written into a single code all provisions for the establishment of administrative offices and departments and for fixing the duties of each. Since these provisions are contained in an ordinance instead of a charter, they may be easily altered to suit the rapidly changing conditions of our modern cities, thus giving the advantages of a very flexible administrative organization.

Many recent charters give the council the power to create, alter or abolish the city departments, but they all set up an initial organization which in practice renders the change more difficult and which is awkward and confusing in allowing the charter to be, in effect, amended by ordinance.

Adaptable as is the organization in Escanaba to the needs of the city, the utilization of the personnel of the

administration is not less so. The manager is by the code given power to add to the duties of any officer, to require any department to perform work for another, to assign to the head of a department the work of a subordinate position in his own or in another department, and to assign any officer or employee to several employments in one or more departments.

In no other city has so completely flexible an instrument been placed in the hands of the council.

ASSISTANT MANAGERS RATHER THAN DEPARTMENT HEADS

Perhaps of more moment and certain to arouse more comment is the provision for a group of managers. Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, made a similar provision two years ago, but has not acted upon it. Escanaba is starting its new government with a manager and two assistant-managers.

A number of cities have provided for an assistant-manager in the sense of a deputy or vice-manager. The Escanaba plan is different. By the charter, the manager is head of all departments, until otherwise provided, as is the case in many municipalities. But when it is necessary to relieve the manager of some portion of his task, other cities have set up one or more department heads in addition to the manager. These new department heads in such

cities mark a notable change from the prior situation: the headships of the departments are henceforth divorced from the manager's office. Escanaba, on the contrary, keeps the headship of every department where it started—in the manager's office. It does so by assigning the direct management of a department, when necessary to relieve the manager, to an assistant-manager, and as many assistant-managers may be employed as the council shall determine.

The Escanaba plan of placing assistant-managers at the head of all departments not directly handled by the manager himself, is not a mere question of title. It will effect the character of the man employed, and it will vitally affect his relations with other administrative officers. Instead of tending to bring to the head of a department a man with merely technical qualifications, it requires a man with some of the qualifications, at least, for city-management. Instead of putting a department head in the position of relative isolation in which he is responsible only for his own department and usually doesn't care a fig about the success of other departments, the Escanaba plan will inevitably instill into the little group of managers, the chief and his subordinates, a high degree of unity, and a sense of common responsibility and interest in the administration as a whole.

This plan will not appeal to the manager who prefers czarist methods. But it avoids affecting in the slightest the complete responsibility of department heads to the manager, or his exclusive responsibility to the council, while it enlists the spirit of co-operation in a way those methods can never attain.

WILL TRAIN MANAGERS

The effect of the Escanaba plan on the development of the assistant-managers after they have taken office, is not to be overlooked. At the present time there is no group of men which has in any marked degree the qualifications required for city-management. The idea sometimes held that engineers constitute such a group is entirely erroneous; its only basis is that engineering is one of the important activities of the city. Some knowledge of the tasks of city administration is necessary, but executive ability is the one great qualification and it may be found here and there in many groups, but not as a common characteristic of any group. The opportunity that a plan like that at Escanaba offers for the development of executives and the broadening of their knowledge of municipal affairs, may create a group of younger men to which cities, now searching vainly for proper managers, may in future turn.

OLD AGE PENSIONS FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS

AN ALTERNATIVE PENSION SCHEME FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES¹

BY LAWSON PURDY

FOR various reasons a pension system is valuable. For all persons who enter the service after the establishment of the system the various advantages of the pension are part of the contract of hiring. It is a mistake to speak of a contribution being made by the employee even though he accepts service for a lower present wage than he would receive in other employment. He accepts service for a present wage and deferred benefits of various kinds. Even though this be true the cost to any city in actual annual expenditure for wages and pension contribution doubtless will be more than a straight payment of wages without payment of any pension. Most men are so constituted that they will do more for a present payment than for a more valuable deferred benefit.

OTHER PENSION SYSTEMS EXPENSIVE

The commission on pensions of the city of New York found that in 1914 after seventy years of operation London police pensions amounted to 30 per cent of the payroll; French civil service pensions to 17 per cent of the payroll; Austrian civil service pensions to 33 per cent of the payroll; and Berlin civil service pensions to 37 per cent of the payroll.

¹ Mr. Purdy offers this as a minority report of our Committee on Pensions, whose report was published in the April (1922) REVIEW. It is to be emphasized that the plan here proposed is only an alternative to be offered employees to whom the ordinary pension scheme is not attractive. Ed.

On the basis of the computations of various commissions it seems that it would cost at least 10 per cent of the payroll to give half pay pensions to persons 60 years of age after 35 years of service, and to give them in addition any reasonable insurance against death and retirement for disability.

While a pension system such as we propose would be an asset to the city in securing better service and in social advantages, nevertheless, when it has reached a certain stage its cost is an annual burden which will not decline. It is possible to make part of a pension system a financial asset instead of a financial liability.

The usual pension plan has as little as possible of the co-operative features. Each employee who pays money into the fund is supposed to get that money back with interest if he retires. His beneficiaries get it if he dies. In addition he is insured against disability and against death. It is obvious that all these advantages must be paid for. Under some conditions absolute mutuality and co-operation are desirable just as they are in life insurance or fire insurance. In ordinary fire insurance by the aid of a corporation various persons agree to contribute in certain proportion to rebuild the house of their neighbor who suffers its loss. In the case of ordinary life insurance certain persons agree to take care of the dependents of one of their fellows who dies. Those who live long have the satisfaction of knowing that their

families are protected and the further satisfaction of caring for the dependents of those who die.

The plan we propose for an old age pension has exactly the same mutuality and co-operative features as life insurance. Those who die help to take care of those who live to old age. So long as they live they enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that if they live to a great age they will be cared for. They have the satisfaction of knowing that if they die they have helped to care for their comrades in their old age.

INSURANCE FOR ONE WHO HAS NO DEPENDENTS

There are many employees in any large service who have no dependents; others who have insured their lives for a sum greater than is proposed in any pension system; others who have insured themselves against disability or can so insure themselves. There are still others for whom there is adequate provision for dependents and whose sole concern may be to provide a sufficient income for their own old age. For such persons the following plan is better adapted than any pension system that has been proposed heretofore, and it is recommended as a substitute for any employee who so elects.

Let us assume for the sake of illustration that 1,000 persons of the average age of 25 years enter a city service annually and that the number of persons now in the city service, who are not over 70 years of age, would be that number who would be living at the present time if 1,000 persons had entered the service annually for the last 45 years, and those persons had all been of the average age of 25 years. We start our system then with employees of various ages, the majority of whom are less than 45 years old. Create a capital fund the principal of which shall never be spent by making a

contribution on behalf of every such employee to this capital fund annually. That contribution might be given in addition to present salaries or it might be deducted from present salaries, or the expense might be shared. Persons hereafter entering the service would enter on the basis of a certain sum received annually for themselves to spend now and a certain sum contributed to a capital fund for their benefit. The essence of this plan is the preservation of the capital fund intact forever and its constant increase.

WHAT EACH WOULD RECEIVE

For purposes of illustration we obtained certain calculations from an actuary, which were based upon retirement at 70 years of age. We regard this age as too old. The figures illustrate the principle and the benefits would be reduced proportionately if the retirement age were 65 instead of 70.

When an employee reaches 70 years of age he is entitled to retire and draw a pension. His pension would be the earnings of his own contributions, plus his share of the earnings of persons of the same age as himself who died before him. He would also be entitled to a per capita share, together with all other pensioners, of the income of the general endowment which would be created by the death of all persons of a year class.

In order to make easy computations I have used the sum of \$150 a year as the uniform contribution for every employee. This sum is based on a salary of \$1,500, being 10 per cent of that salary. There are comparatively few employees in the large cities now who receive a smaller salary at 65 years of age. Policemen in the city of New York now start at over \$2,000 a year, and teachers after a few years of service are receiving over \$2,000. At the end of 50 years a person who was 70 years

old would receive \$1,842 a year; a person 75 years of age would receive \$2,517 a year; a person 80 years old would receive \$3,186. One who is 90 years old would receive over \$22,000.

At the end of 75 years the general endowment fund would amount to over 300 million dollars, and at the end of 100 years to over 700 million dollars. The increase thereafter would be 150 million dollars every ten years. All this would be accomplished by the contribution of 1,000 persons entering the service annually and paying \$150 a year. It is quite obvious that after the fund has been in operation for a moderate length of time, the annual income would be sufficient, not only for pensions but to make the contributions for persons subsequently entering the service. Thereafter the income would be sufficient to pay pensioners and pay all contributions to the pension fund and still leave a large surplus for other purposes.

	INCOME		
	<i>At the Age of</i>		
	70	80	90
After 50 years.....	\$1,842	\$3,186	\$22,000
After 75 years.....	4,456	7,346	55,335
After 100 years.....	8,451	10,843	62,352

The above table will show the amount which could be paid in pen-

sions from the fund after 50 years, 75 years, and 100 years, at the ages of 70, 80, and 90. All computations are based on 4 per cent as the rate of interest.

It might be deemed undesirable to have pension payments rise to such a high figure as \$60,000 a year for persons receiving a salary of \$1,500. The amount can be regulated in accordance with any contract that may be made with any employee entering the service. If a maximum sum is fixed as the payment to employees, the balance can be used to meet annual instalments at an earlier date than would be the case if the entire fund were distributed to pensioners.

If any city should start such a plan as this, it might well permit any employee leaving the service to continue to make the annual payments. In any event he would be entitled, upon reaching age of retirement, to draw the income for which he had paid. It might also permit any citizen to make such payments into the fund as he might desire provided the payments were in reasonable amounts and at regular intervals. Thus any citizen could share in the great advantages which would come to those entitled to pensions.

THE FAILURE OF THE MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE

BY STUART A. RICE

Formerly Superintendent of the New York City Municipal Lodging House

The city of New York has been expending \$1.50 per night each for the lodging of homeless men and women, when better accommodations were being sold at the Mills Hotel for 40 cents. :: :: :: ::

THE cost per inmate per diem of the New York Municipal Lodging House in 1918 was \$1.56. In 1919 it was \$1.53.¹ Included in these per capita amounts were expenditures for food for the inmates amounting in each year to about 8 cents per capita. Since the Mills Hotel offers food to its guests "a la carte," the municipal expenditures fairly comparable with its 40 cent rate during the two years referred to were \$1.47 and \$1.45.

MILLS HOTEL PREFERABLE

There are differences, however, in the services provided at the two establishments for these amounts.

Should you become a guest of Father Knickerbocker at his municipal inn, you will be urged after supper to disrobe and wet yourself under the showers. Should the invitation be neglected, you may be scrubbed. If you have arrived early, you will then wait around in a somber-colored night gown of uncertain fit to "see the doctor." You will probably see him, though it is a question whether "the doctor" will see you. With the practiced eye of a Bellevue Hospital interne, he takes in the whole line at a glance. Your clothing will be sterilized while you sleep: that is, if you are able to

sleep amid the cadence of a hundred human windpipes in various keys from the double-deck beds in the dormitory about you.

At the Mills Hotel, a lobby occupying the entire main floor offers you a library, writing materials and after-dinner ease. The "fumigation" is omitted; the bath, though optional, will be more willingly taken, and "the doctor" is only on call. The 40-cent rate provides a single room with bed, locker and chair, having outside ventilation. Standards of cleanliness are about equal at the two places.

The writer has been a repeated "guest" of both establishments and superintendent of one of them. He believes that an actual trial would bring the reader to his own opinion: Of the two, accommodations at the Mills Hotel on the whole are *worth more*.

We seem to be examining, then, a municipal service whose cost of production is 350 per cent of the retail sales price of a similar but superior service in a nearby establishment.

The objective explanation of this curious fact is summed up in the word "overhead." There is no material fluctuation in the demand for rooms at the Mills Hotel. The nightly registration at the municipal lodging house, on the other hand, shows periodical rhythm in three well-defined respects. There is a weekly Saturday night "peak," an

¹ See annual reports of Department of Public Charities: 1918, pages 10-17; 1919, pages 18-19. These are the most recent reports that have been published at the time of this writing.

annual December or January "peak" and a cyclical "peak" corresponding to the periods of maximum industrial depression.

Thus, from the mid-winter "peak" early in the "hard times year" of 1915 to the summer "hollow" in the prosperous year which followed, the institutional census declined in the ratio of 26 to 1. The decline continued gradually through the four years that followed. Hence an expensive and well-equipped plant, prepared to accommodate nearly 1,000 persons, has frequently received a number of applicants smaller than the staff of employees necessary to operate it.

In 1918, the inmates received but *one-fourth* of the food consumed by the institution.² Officers and employes received the balance. In 1919 (in the face of an aggregate census increase of more than 16,000) the ratio of food consumed by the inmates with reference to the total dropped to *one-fifth*.³ Throughout these two years, an average of two officers and employes were maintained in the institution for every three lodgers admitted.

A HYBRID INSTITUTION

But the objective explanation is less significant than the subjective reason behind it. The municipal lodging house as an institution has not justified its existence to date because its functions and purpose have never been logically formulated and agreed upon. Unlike the hospital, or the home for aged and infirm, it has not yet developed a recognized field of its own, with a clear-cut organization and defined

responsibilities. In consequence it is a *hybrid or mongrel institution*, incoherent in policy and extravagant in operation.

The truth of these assertions will not be so apparent as the objective indices of inefficiency first mentioned.

The present New York municipal lodging house was completed in 1909 under authority granted by the state legislature in 1886. It is a seven-story, fire-proof building which cost about \$400,000. It is provided with heating plant, laundry, eight huge formaldehyde and ammonia sterilizing chambers, a fan-ventilating system, steam cooking apparatus, a refrigeration plant, an elevator and minor equipment. Double-deck beds in three full-floor dormitories will accommodate nearly 800 men. One floor is given over to women, another to employes and a third to dining rooms, kitchen and administration.

The law provides that applicants for "shelter" shall be given food, a night's lodging, bath and disinfection of clothing, free of charge. It originally stipulated that "no person shall be received more than three times in any one month. . . ." The person who thereafter returned, or who refused to do the work assigned him, was to be regarded as a vagrant.

So far as any theory of social amelioration is discernible in this law, it may be described as the concept of *emergent shelter* for able-bodied and temporarily stranded individuals. In periods of industrial depression, emergent shelter is the outstanding service demanded by the situation. Such periods were the winters of 1913-14, 1914-15 and 1921-22. At these times, the applicants at the lodging house are prevailingly vigorous young and middle-aged men who "want nothing but a job." "A job" is substantially all they *need* to make them independent workers. Meanwhile they must be supplied

² Inmates, \$3,949.03; Employes, \$10,047.64; "Maintenance of officers including food," \$2,744.36.

³ Inmates, \$3,926.87; Employes, \$10,686.72; "Maintenance of officers including food," \$4,457.36.

temporarily with a few fundamental necessities—food, cleanliness and a bed—to “keep ‘em alive.” It is proper that they should be required to work for these things as they receive them.

The “shelter conception,” however, has no adequate place in its scheme of service for the crippled, the mental defectives, the demented, the drug addicts, the alcoholics, the sick, the diseased, the epileptics, the run-away boys, the hospital convalescents,—who are at the same time without home or money. “Keeping ‘em alive” for a few days by the scant provision of “shelter” in return for labor, and then turning them away, is merely destructive.

THE “EMPLOYABLE UNEMPLOYED”

If the mass of applicants during any one of the five *normal* years prior to the past winter were classified, it would be found composed, in the main, of individuals belonging to just such types as we have enumerated. They constitute an irreducible minimum of patronage for the institution. It is the “employable unemployed”—whom merely “want jobs”—that provide the extremely fluctuating element in the institutional census.

There are thus two distinct problems of homeless dependency with which a municipal lodging house will be confronted. There is first an *emergent demand* for temporary shelter for the homeless unemployed. This demand is appreciable only at times of industrial crisis or depression.

There is second, a *continuing problem of social pathology*, reflecting the inability of individuals to master the problem of self-support, even under the most favorable conditions. The requirements of the second situation are analogous to those encountered in a reception hospital. They involve the *observation and analysis of ailments*

with which the individual is no longer able to cope. Medical, mental and social clinics, thoroughly equipped and possessing powers equivalent to those of the local health authority, would be essential to an adequate organization of this part of the task.

When the analysis (or diagnosis) was complete, there would then be the function of *clearance* to specialized institutions or agencies that would undertake the longer, or perhaps permanent, responsibilities of supervision, custodial care or social rehabilitation, as the case might be. Even a relatively small community would be able to command the services of a variety of specialists for this purpose.

As in the case of all human phenomena, there is no clearly distinguishable dividing line between the two types that we have described. The types, or modes, themselves, however, are definite, and the requirements of institutional method in the case of each are clearly defined and distinct.

The confusion of the two tasks has hindered all endeavors to realize a practicable ideal of service for the municipal lodging house in New York. Its physical plant proved entirely inadequate to the task of emergency shelter in 1914 and 1915. The demands upon it were two and one-half times its maximum capacity and a make-shift “annex” was resorted to. The same physical plant, on the other hand, has been *far too large and too crudely wholesale in proportions and equipment*, for the more intensive and continuing tasks that, had they been performed, would have justified the institution’s existence between 1916 and 1921.

IDEAL OF A HUMAN REPAIR SHOP

The splendid ideal of a “great human repair shop” visualized by Commis-

sioner John A. Kingsbury in 1914⁴ was impossible of execution because the institution was flooded with men who needed nothing much in the way of repair except a job—and jobs could not be found or made for them. When the flood had subsided, the “repair shop” conception might have made its permanent and legitimate growth, were it not for the unwieldy plant devised for wholesale “shelter.” Both the heavy “overhead expense” which the plant entailed, and the general acceptance of the “shelter concept” that is embodied in the plant, have tended to prevent a development of the municipal lodging house in the “repair shop” direction.

AN APPLICATION BUREAU, NOT A LODGING HOUSE

To any American city willing to attack its problems of “social inadequacy” individual by individual, according to case-work methods, the writer unhesitatingly recommends the establishment of an “application bureau” for homeless men and women. Do not let it be called a “lodging house.” The bureau should be flexible, without costly apparatus, but with generous control over the specialized services of expert diagnosticians—physical, mental and social. While providing for the immediate physical needs of its applicants, the chief concern of the bureau will be to analyze the conditions under which their lives can be made of maximum value to themselves and to society in the future.

The location and the arrangement of

the bureau will depend upon circumstances. It may be located at the health center, if there be one. It should be closely tied up in working arrangements with the public employment office. It should be prepared to expand, equally ready to contract, but *open all the time*.

The bureau will be completely effective in any city only when it becomes impossible for men and women to live without work by exploiting sympathetic sentiment. To this end, the co-operation of police authorities, philanthropic societies and the general public must be sought. A campaign of education to eliminate alms-giving may be initiated. Vagrants and street beggars should be brought to the bureau under police persuasion, but without avoidable publicity, for voluntary application to the bureau should be encouraged.

The bureau may or may not have facilities for lodging applicants under its own management. Circumstances may make it more practicable to issue tickets to lodgings elsewhere. For the protection of the public, whatever the arrangement, medical examination should always precede the assignment of a bed. For the same reason, power to quarantine or segregate or forcibly admit to a hospital if the case warrants it, should be exercised by the bureau whenever contagious or infectious disease, including active syphilis and tuberculosis, be encountered.

At the same time it would be desirable to secure the promulgation and enforcement of more stringent sanitary and health regulations in all cheap lodging houses, whether “philanthropic” or commercial. Registration and examination of the patrons of all such houses is desirable and will ultimately be required in progressive communities.

When industrial depression alters the character of the problem, as it periodi-

⁴Annual Report, Department of Public Charities, 1914, page 13: “It is our hope to make the Municipal Lodging House something more than a mere sleeping quarters for tired, hungry men out of work. We aim to make it a great human repair shop, manned and equipped to rebuild the broken lives of those who enter its doors for help.”

cally will, local circumstances will again dictate whether special quarters will be opened for the unemployed workers or whether they will be distributed among existing establishments. At all events, the application bureau should be the point from which admission to sleeping quarters is obtained. A continuing central register of all applicants will be found of utmost value. It will

make possible the detection of the inevitable and dangerous tendency for a man who is unemployed to become unemployable.

Unemployment gives a profound impetus toward physical and moral deterioration. The social problem of greatest magnitude when normal men are out of work is to prevent dependency from becoming degradation.

THE ILLINOIS CIVIL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM—WHAT IT HAS ACCOMPLISHED

BY A. E. BUCK

New York Bureau of Municipal Research

The Illinois code system is now being put to the real test. It is in the hands of an unsympathetic and patronage-seeking administration, but it has not failed as many of its critics thought it would. In fact, it continues to stand out in sharp contrast to the old order of things.

THE adoption in 1917 of the Illinois civil administrative code is significant not only because the code set up a consistent and uniform system of administration for the state, but because it was the beginning of a far-reaching reform in American state administration. The code system has now been in operation over five years. During this time it has been the means of systematizing the state's business and of giving to the people of the state better service at less cost. These results alone justify the code system.

But critics of the system have said: "Just wait until the Lowden administration has ended and see what happens." They implied that when the system came to be operated by another administration it would work very poorly, if at all. In fact, they seemed quite convinced that it would be worse than the old organization with its multitudinous boards and commis-

sions. Actual experience, however, has shown that this is not true. The system has withstood a complete change of administration. In 1920 the man whom Governor Lowden favored as his successor was defeated, resulting in the election of Len Small. Governor Small came into office over a year and a half ago and, as is to be expected, he replaced the Lowden men who were serving as department heads with men of his own choice. Since he could appoint only nine such men, he undoubtedly selected them with greater care than if he had been appointing a hundred or more as was the case under the old scheme of organization. He did not, as he might have done, replace all of the forty subordinate officials that served under Lowden as assistant directors and division heads in the nine code departments. A number of these were retained in the various departments to give continuity to the

administrative work. The rank and file of the state employees, being under civil service, continued as before.

Although Governor Small has given a great deal of his time since he has been in office to keeping out of the penitentiary, the administration has, nevertheless, moved along more expeditiously and with better results than was possible under the old scheme of organization. Critics of the system may again suggest that this is because of the momentum given to it by the Lowden administration. Granted for argument's sake that it is purely momentum, the state government is still better off than it was before the code was adopted, since the type of organization that preceded the code organization was unable even during the best periods of administration to acquire enough momentum to carry it along. Under the code system the state is certain to have good administration at least part of the time, whereas under the old scheme of organization the administration was almost always wasteful and inefficient. Through the system now in operation the people will in time come to appreciate and to demand good government, thus electing to office abler state executives. Under the old scheme of government this would not happen.

It is safe to say that many of the methods introduced by the code system are now so well established that they will continue despite the political character of administrations, like the present one, that may now and then get into power. Some of the most striking results of the code system are well worth pointing out.

DEPARTMENTALIZATION OF ACTIVITIES

More than 100 administrative agencies were abolished by the code and their functions brought together in

nine closely related groups called departments. These departments are:

(1) finance, (2) agriculture, (3) labor, (4) mines and minerals, (5) public works and buildings, (6) public welfare, (7) public health, (8) trade and commerce, and (9) registration and education. Each of the departments has a single head, called a director, appointed by the governor with the senate's approval for a term of four years (same as that of the governor).

The work of the administration has not only been departmentalized, but it has been integrated within the departments. Each department has arranged its work in groups called divisions. At the head of each division is a single person, called a superintendent, who is directly responsible to the head of the department. In this way the line of responsibility from the governor through the department head and division chief to the lowest employee is clearly established. When work is neglected or not done properly, the blame can be definitely fixed.

A very important element in carrying on the administrative work is the co-operation that is made possible by the code reorganization. If one department has a rush period of work and another department has a lax period at the same time, employees from the latter department may be transferred temporarily to the other department until the rush period is over. In determining the depreciation and need for repairs of institutional plants and buildings for budget-making purposes, the department of finance secures the services of engineers and architects from the department of public works and buildings. When the purchasing division is called upon to purchase livestock for the institutional farms, the purchasing agent gets a specialist from the division of animal industry of the department of agriculture to assist him.

Under the old non-integrated scheme of administration with its numerous independent organization units this co-operation and utilization of office forces was impossible.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CABINET ADMINISTRATION

Perhaps the most important feature of the code system is the ease with which it lends itself to cabinet administration. Since this system has been in operation, it has been possible for the governor to meet with his department heads as often as he deemed it necessary to discuss administrative problems and to determine on general policies. Regular weekly meetings of the directors and assistant directors have been held at which administrative problems and policies have been discussed at great length. Largely because of these meetings the assistant directors, in three instances where the directors were removed by death, proved themselves quite capable to take up and carry on the work of the departments. One important result of these meetings has been the development of the idea of unity in administration. This tends towards co-operation instead of interference between departments. Under the code system of organization the departments no longer have anything to gain by competing with each other for appropriations.

SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL AND BUDGETARY CONTROL

The financial and budgetary control is exercised by the department of finance, which is one of the most important departments of the code administration. All expenditures of the other departments must be approved by the department of finance before the expenditure is made. This audit applies to contracts and requisitions as well as vouchers. In this way

the department of finance is continually gathering facts and figures that are of great value in passing upon the budget estimates. This department prescribes a uniform system of bookkeeping for all the departments and institutions, thus determining the form in which the information will be kept and presented for financial control and budget-making purposes. It has devised and put into use a standard classification of expenditures that is used both for accounting and budget making. Under the finance code, enacted by the 1919 legislature, the powers of the department of finance are extended in some degree over the non-code offices and agencies. The powers of the department, however, could not be made to extend as they should to these offices and agencies, because the most of them are constitutional.

Under this system of financial control the governor, any state officer, any member of the legislature, or any citizen can, at any time, get from the department of finance the exact condition of the appropriations that have been made to any code department or division. They can ascertain the amount of money expended, the amount of money involved in the invoices for supplies received that have not been paid for, the amount of money represented by contracts of all kinds that have been placed and for which supplies have not been received, and the amount of money still unexpended.

The state budget is prepared by the department of finance from estimates submitted by all the spending agencies. The superintendent of budget is immediately in charge of this work. After the estimates have been submitted they are checked up against the records and data kept by the department of finance and field investigations are

made wherever necessary. The estimates are then revised by the director of finance and submitted to the governor in budget form. Should the governor wish to make further revisions before accepting the budget of the director of finance as his financial program, he merely calls in his department heads and they go over the proposals together making such revisions as he may think necessary. In this way the needs of each department are correctly proportioned according to the needs of all the departments, and all proposed expenditures are carefully weighed in the light of the revenues available to meet them. When the budget has been finally revised and presented to the legislature by the governor, the administration presents a solid front in its support. If an officer of the code administration should go to the legislature and make an attempt to get the budget changed, the governor could dismiss that officer. This would not be possible where there are a number of more or less independent administrative boards and agencies. They might go to the legislature and completely upset the governor's budget plan; yet, he could not prevent it. Such a thing may happen in Illinois in the case of the independent constitutional officers over which the governor has little or no control. Further reorganization is needed in order to bring all of these officers with one exception—the auditor—into departments directly under the governor just as the present code departments are.

Under the code administration, the governor is not only given a staff agency (department of finance) to assist him in the preparation of the budget and to supply him with all the facts needed in budget making, but he is also placed in a position where he

can carry out the budget when the appropriations have been made by the legislature. While financial planning is important, a centralized authority to carry out the plan is even more important.

CENTRALIZED PURCHASING SYSTEM

All supplies and equipment for the several state departments, except those formerly supplied by the secretary of state, and for the charitable, penal and reformatory institutions and normal schools, are purchased by the division of purchases and supplies of the department of public works and buildings. The continued practice of the secretary of state purchasing some of the supplies illustrates how the existence of practically independent constitutional officers prevents that centralization of function which a logical development of the system would require. Five years' experience indicates that the purchasing work should perhaps be directly under the department of finance rather than where it is. The department of finance, however, has the power to prescribe uniform rules governing specifications for the purchase of supplies for the several departments. The division of purchases and supplies is headed by a superintendent who receives an annual salary of \$5,000.

Since it has been in operation, the division of purchases and supplies has made and supervised the purchase of supplies amounting annually to over \$5,000,000. The annual expense of running the division has been a little over \$30,000, thus making the ratio between the total purchases and the cost of operating the division about six-tenths of one per cent. Comparison with the salary costs and expenses necessary to do the ordinary amount of purchasing for a million dollar business

shows that the state work is being handled at even less cost than in the average business.

CONTROL OF DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS AND PRINTING

The superintendent of department reports in the department of finance has control over the form, editing and arrangement of the departmental reports. The reports of the different departments and divisions are prepared in such a manner as to make them most useful to the ordinary citizen seeking authoritative information regarding the state's work. Tabular matter is avoided as far as possible to reduce expenses of publication and to eliminate data of use to the relatively few. The manuscripts of all reports are submitted to the superintendent of department reports who has power to revise and condense where needed. The result is a concise and readable annual record of achievement, covering the work of the nine code departments and the adjutant general's office, bound in a single volume of from 500 to 800 pages. Prior to the adoption of the code there were thousands of uninforming pages of annual reports bound in many volumes and published at great cost to the state.

All state printing is controlled by the division of printing of the department of public works and buildings. Experience indicates that this work should be under the department of finance. Contracts are let each year after bids have been received on the different classes of printing. Letter-heads and envelopes are printed on a good grade of paper in a uniform style, thus saving a great deal of expense. As far as it is possible to do so, the blanks used by all departments and institutions are of a uniform and standard size. This enables a large supply to be printed at

one time and placed in the storeroom, thus saving expense and avoiding delay.

UNIFIED INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT

A very important achievement of the code administration is the placing of all the charitable, penal and reformatory institutions of the state under one department—the department of public welfare. All the administrative boards of the twenty-three institutions of this character were abolished and the head of each institution is now appointed by the director of public welfare. These institutions house about 27,000 inmates and have about 4,000 employees. It takes about \$15,000,000 annually to operate them. In the department of public welfare is the fiscal supervisor, or business manager, of all the institutions under the department. He prescribes, in conjunction with the department of finance, the record-keeping system for all the institutions. He controls the business end of the work of the institutions. He gathers complete statistics on the consumption of food, clothing, and other supplies, and on the production of institutional industries. The department of public welfare also has a criminologist and an alienist. In connection with the department is an advisory and unpaid board of five members.

IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL ADMINIS- TRATION

Illinois, like most of the states in the middle west, must depend for its prosperity to a considerable extent upon its agriculture. The code organization has contributed a great deal to the improvement of the agricultural administration. Prior to the adoption of the code there were almost a dozen separate agricultural agencies scattered around over the state. The agricul-

tural interests fared very poorly under the management of this multi-headed arrangement. These separate agencies did not co-operate, the result being that large expenditures were made with small returns in service. The code abolished these agencies and consolidated their work in the department of agriculture. The fish and game work and the state fair are placed in this department. Under this arrangement the administration of the state fair is greatly simplified and the fair has been made a much more effective proposition. In connection with the department, there are a couple of advisory boards, one on agriculture and one on the state fair. These boards have no administrative duties and are unpaid. They serve largely to awaken interest in different localities of the state in the general program and work of the department of agriculture.

EXTENSIVE ROAD CONSTRUCTION

The reorganization of the public works activities under the code has made it possible for the state to carry on successfully, during the unsettled conditions of the past four years, one of the most extensive road building programs of any state in the Union. The 1919 legislature authorized \$60,000,000 in bonds for state-aid highways alone. All told the state is spending about

\$100,000,000 on the present program of hard road construction. Directing this work is the department of public works and buildings created by the code. All highway construction and supervision by this department is carried on by the division of highways and grouped under six working units—design, construction, maintenance, tests, machinery, and audits.

Two other divisions of the department of public works and buildings deserve mention in this connection. The division of architecture has brought the buildings of the state from a condition of dilapidation to one of comparatively good repair. It has prepared and supervised plans for many new buildings in conformity with a comprehensive program. In working out this program, it has kept constantly in mind the benefits to be derived by the adoption of typical units, insuring economy of construction, stability, minimum fire hazard, minimum future repairs, dignified and pleasing architecture, and the use of inmate labor as far as possible in construction. The division of engineering has taken care of the water supply of institutions, as well as the plumbing, sewer, and mechanical repairs. It has begun the installation of modern heating plants in the institutions with the proper recording of the consumption of coal and testing of the waste of heat.

THE PLACE OF THE MOTOR BUS

BY WALTER JACKSON

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Freedom from taxation has given the motor bus a momentary, unfair advantage. Nevertheless it has a place which is being recognized more and more. :: :: :: :: ::

IN 1919 the fingers of one hand showed a surplus when counting the number of electric railways operating motor-buses publicly, and not secretly as jitney-killers.

In 1920 the writer for writing and the *Electric Railway Journal* for publishing his studies on "The Place of the Motor-Bus in Passenger Transportation" received a choice collection of brickbats for daring to suggest that transportation for the masses at popular prices was a function that had nothing to do with the mode of propulsion; that mass transportation was a natural monopoly and therefore the electric railway as the principal carriers owed it to themselves to make use of the bus wherever it would fit. This was revolutionary, subversive doctrine to America, but a commonplace to Europe.

In 1921, the anti-bus feeling was still so strong that a convention of the American Electric Railway Association was stampeded into rejecting a constitutional amendment that would have admitted some eminently respectable bus operators to membership.

But by the end of 1922, the forces of reality had overcome prejudice so rapidly that nearly one hundred electric railways had found a place for the bus in their operating bosoms—not necessarily to make money, let it be marked, but more often to reduce the inevitable losses incident to serving sparse populations.

SOME BUS OPERATION IS ARTIFICIALLY
STIMULATED BY NOMINAL TAXATION

The foregoing record of movement toward the bus has not been given primarily for the sake of shouting joyously "I told you so," but rather to have the reader appreciate that the writer is more inclined to see the best rather than the worst sides of motor-bus operation. So his following references to the problem of taxation are not to be taken in the spirit of antagonism toward this marvelously flexible though yet immature form of transport.

When the question is asked: "What is the place of the bus and is that place so wide as to be likely to crowd out the electric railway?", the answer must differ according to whether one makes a comparison on strictly scientific grounds or upon conditions as he finds them. This can be understood clearly enough by examples.

Early in 1921 the writer was engaged to make a survey of motor-bus opportunities on a large eastern city railway. These opportunities arose chiefly through the fact that certain unimportant extensions and cross-town lines had reached the point of rail and paving renewal. The cost of such renewal was so great in comparison with the traffic that the fixed charges alone were likely to exceed the cost of electric car operation. Under these circumstances, viz., say 50,000 to 100,000 car-miles per

mile of track per annum, the motor-bus was by far the cheaper.

Mark, however, that the comparison was based upon franchise and tax conditions as the writer found them; not upon a really scientific basis. Here was the unfairness: The bus would run at will over the paving without sharing in the cost of such paving; the car would have to pay for a steel and concrete runway all its own and, in addition, pay for the paving used by the rest of the community.

In one of the cases under study, an astonishing thing happened when the company announced that it would run buses instead of continuing rail cars. The community was in consternation at being deprived of the rush-hour through service made possible by the cars. It did not fancy a ride in a shuttle bus and then waiting for a crowded car half way down an important trunk line. It also feared that the bus service might be stopped some unlucky day and never be renewed. On the other hand, the presence of rails and wire was a symbol of permanence. What did the council do to persuade the railway to maintain car service? Why it relieved the railway of some \$60,000 paving assessment against the one mile of route! The lopping off of that sum made all the difference in the world as to which mode of propulsion would lose least money in the end—and so the electric railway staid.

On the other hand, the same company has taken up the rails elsewhere because renewal and extension of a light-traffic branch with highly fluctuating traffic would have been most unwise. The bus meets this particular condition admirably since its route can be drawn out or pulled in according to circumstances.

Here, then, we have one case where the removal of the paving burden on the car deprived the bus of its advan-

tage financially; and second a case where the flexibility of the bus gave it an innate superiority entirely independent of factitious aids.

Generally speaking, the greatest of the unfair handicaps on the electric railway is the paving charge. Few will pretend that this is other than a tax for a franchise rather than for actual wear of paving. Aside from the paving charge, are the various taxes which a community learns to impose as it seeks new sources of revenue from year to year. Besides taxes, one may add the cost of being regulated. It is no trifling matter for a small electric railway to be obliged to spend hundreds of dollars merely to petition for a *reduction* in fare; not to mention the cost of trying to secure an increase in fare! On the other hand, there are still plenty of states and cities where the bus operator changes his fares through the simple expedient of reversing his sign or printing a new rate card.

TAX-FREE ADVANTAGES OF BUS ARE TEMPORARY

Anyone can see for himself that where such inequality in taxation and regulation of service obtains, the motor-bus will often find a place to which it is not entitled. It will not do the community any good to permit this kind of development. First, it loses those large sums in taxes which it must secure some way. As the eventual payer will be the transportation system, it follows that the bus successor will have to pony up in time. The only way it can do so is to raise the fare. Second, the community loses that strict control over the transportation system, which it now enjoys. It can apply a lot of pressure to an organization that has most of its capital in fixed property. It can never apply such pressure to a concern which has put most of its investment in movables! Many an

electric railway has hung on merely to make its fixed charges; but no busman would stick to the ship if he could not make some real money.

So as a matter of community self-interest, bus operation ought to be handled by the organization—the electric railway—which already has a stake that cannot be pulled out quite so readily as that of a circus tent.

As matters are moving now, the practically tax-free bus is doomed. Several states have a gallonage tax which is a direct charge upon the bus operator according to mileage; Maryland has a seat tax; New Jersey has a gross earnings tax; California has stringent regulation and standard accounting systems for bus operators; and in more and more states the certificate of necessity and convenience is putting an end to the anarchic competition that has hurt the pioneer bus operators as much as the electric railways which they attacked.

At the same time, we are a long way from a general settlement. This is particularly true in cities that have been allowed to retain jurisdiction over jitney operations. One administration may pass an act demanding and securing adherence to routes, rates of fare, accident insurance and the like—and this generally cuts down jitney operation to the point where it is giving a service to neighborhoods that ought to have been cared for by the electric railway's own bus department. Along comes a hostile administration and knocks all preceding regulation into a cocked hat, either by repealing or by failing to enforce them. Obviously no city electric railway can live under such alternations of peace and war.

RAILWAYS SHOULD RUN BUSES

The writer has maintained from the first that the quickest way to put the

bus and the street car on the same plane as to taxation and regulation is for the railways to go into the bus business wherever they ought to do so. The reason lies in human nature.

So long as the bus is run by the individual jitneur, so long will the community's sentiment for the "poor workingman" restrain it from demanding safe, clean, reliable service and imposing a rate of taxation fairly comparable to that exacted from corporations which, in the eye of the non-stock and bondholder, are always rich.

On the other hand, let the corporations take up the bus, and the legislatures and councils will be quick to tie the bus operators into as many knots as the car operators. In passing such measures, they will necessarily have to treat all bus operators alike—whether individual or corporation. In at least one instance, this has come to pass with such celerity that the bus-using railway involved wishes now it had not been quite so emphatic about the tax-dodging of the bus services it has since superseded.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN THE LEGISLATIVE DICE ARE NO LONGER LOADED?

The one most important thing that can happen will be the protection of mass transport systems against the individually-owned, unreliable jitney bus. The term "mass transport systems," of course, is intended to apply to the local organization supplying all the popular price transportation of the district, whether electric, gasoline or both. When such protection is effective, there will still be ample room for the motor-bus without forcing of excessive abandonment of track. There will be no more situations where an electric railway charging a 10 cent fare is crowded out by jitney buses, which promptly raise their fare to 15 and 20 cents when the railway is gone.

But there will be many more installations such as these:

Extensions of city lines through thin territory as one form of payment for monopoly rights.

Belt or cross-town routes as another form of such payment.

Alternative, higher fare short cuts via bus where the railway follows a roundabout route.

Development of residential districts—possibly at higher fares—in preference to laying down rails and putting up wires.

Replacement with buses on other streets of track routes no longer located to best advantage.

With regard to the last item, the writer has in mind a city of 30,000 where a large portion of the worn-out track system will be supplanted by the company with buses on other streets. In this particular instance, the town refused to grow as the railway builders had planned. By the time the franchises were up for renewal, the track was in such shape as to be practically worthless. Furthermore, most of the routes were in single track, so that neither the headways nor adherence to schedules was as good as required for a community that has tasted the speed of the private automobile.

In this instance, the advantages of the bus are: Utmost flexibility in adapting the routes to the shifting of the population; no greater overall cost because of low investment charges; freedom from paving burdens. It should be understood that this relates to a community where the best headway is not likely to be under ten minutes. If it were to be five minutes, then the electric railway would be cheaper. Even if electric railway operation of some routes should be desirable later, it is proper to start with the bus because the traffic which the shifted and the entirely new routes will bring

is still a matter of estimate and speculation. A mistake with a bus route is only temporary; but with a track it is permanent.

There is no doubt that electric railways would be willing to make much greater use of the bus for rerouting if they could only find some way of amortizing or writing off the supplanting trackage. This is a real problem, for it often happens that the track to be abandoned is part of an underlying system whose owners have been promised a certain rental for many years to come. In such cases, the operating company cannot treat a bus installation by itself, but must figure on having the bus earnings take care of the old as well as the new investment. This is one reason why some electric railways would rather be relieved of the paving burden and continue to give rail service, even if that service is transferred to another street. A large system can absorb the writing off of one to five per cent of its trackage, but the small railway that has to face the re-routing of one-third to one-half its mileage is in an entirely different situation. In short, the mass transport systems are facing again the necessity of taking heavy losses due to advances in the art, just as in the change from horse to electric traction and from the two-man big car to the one-man small car.

HIGHWAY TROLLEY AND CITY-STREET INTERURBAN MUST ALSO ADOPT BUS

When our highway trolleys and "city-street" interurbans were built, the automobile and the paved highway were in their infancy. Before the jitney bus became a factor, this class of railways had already suffered severely from the use of private machines; and this was aggravated, of course, when the unregulated competitor came on the scene to take away the rest of the

traffic. It cannot be said that the buses as a rule offered a more agreeable mode of travel than the cars. However, just as the interurbans had taken steam traffic through offering a two-hour instead of four or six-hour headway, so did the buses gain business by cutting the electric headways. This kind of competition has been successfully met by several interurbans through going to one-man car operation and shorter headways. In this respect the highway trolley is less fortunate than lines operating mainly over right-of-way. It suffers more interruptions toward attaining fast schedules and it cannot add sidings so easily or cheaply. Abandonments of such lines have been followed by bus services, the fare sometimes being raised when it is certain that the electric has gone forever.

What has been said about city systems going into bus transportation applies equally well to many of these handicapped cross-country or interurban railways. They themselves should go into the game with a view to meeting public needs without sinful waste of capital. The passenger wishing to ride from terminal to terminal is no longer willing to put up with a railway that has to trail through the cities, to stop every half mile or so along the

highway or right-of-way and to hang about at sidings because of car or signal derangements. That same passenger may be willing to pay more than the electric overall fare if he is given a non-stop limousine stage seating fourteen to eighteen patrons which assures him all the comfort of luxurious automobile travel with none of its responsibilities and at a lower cost than personal operation. This co-ordination of the service—the electric line for locals and the motor stage for expresses—has already made good on several interurbans and it is bound to make good on many more. The fact is that these stages take much more business from the personal car ranks than they take from the rails, aside from which the novelty and shorter headway of the stage creates other new business.

CONCLUSION

In this necessarily sketchy review, the writer has pointed out that the electric railways as a class no longer oppose the bus; that they want to see the bus on the same plane of taxation and responsibility as the rail in order to have scientific grounds for choosing between rail and bus hereafter; and that their hardest problem is writing off lines supplanted by buses.

THE CAREER OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN NEBRASKA

BY RALPH S. BOOTS

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Nebraska's long experience with the direct primary is related and appraised by one who has made intensive studies of nominating methods in various states. The primary in Nebraska is free from machine control. It is more of a "free for all" than in the east. :: ::

IN 1871 the Republican party in Nemaha county tried once a plan of nominating candidates almost identical with the "Crawford county system." In 1887 an optional primary law was enacted. This primary was not very carefully "closed" and "the low ethical standard of practical politics permitted certain abuses to creep in,"¹ i. e., numbers of Democrats voted in Republican primaries. Party affiliation was more clearly defined in 1899, and in cities where registration was required, failure to enroll barred from the primary. The Republican city committee in "very corrupt" Lincoln yielded to public sentiment and in 1896 accepted the optional plan and added a "run-off" to assure majority nominations. The voters seized upon the opportunity with avidity. In five years between 1896 and 1905 the primary vote equalled or exceeded the general election vote. Such a condition arouses the suspicions of the skeptical. In the only other sizable city in the state, Omaha, the optional plan was partially applied by the Republicans.

DIRECT PRIMARY MADE COMPULSORY IN 1907

Both party platforms in 1906 pronounced for the direct primary and the

¹The study of the Nebraska primary by Mr. N. H. Debel, published by the Legislative Reference Bureau in 1914, was used in preparing the historical portion of this article.

legislature of 1907 responded with provision for a state-wide, compulsory, closed primary applicable to all but municipal elections in cities of fewer than 25,000 inhabitants, and village, township and school district elections. The designation of aspirants is accomplished by personal application or the application of twenty-five qualified electors of the party with which the person designated affiliates. Filing fees of five to fifty dollars are required. The nominees of each party for the county offices were authorized to select the county committees. The state conventions, consisting of delegates from each county committee, might adopt platforms and select state committees.

Because the originally provided alphabetical arrangement of aspirants' names on the ballot under each office almost caused the nomination of a few unknown Messrs. A the rotation of names was substituted in 1909, to "distribute equitably the moron vote," as some one recently expressed it. It was estimated that first place on the ballot for a state office was worth from 20,000 to 30,000 votes. The closed primary gave place to an open one the same year, but so freely and amicably did the members of parties intermingle in the 1910 primary that the closed primary was restored the following year.

In 1909 it was urged that the conventions properly should meet before

the primary in order to devise platforms upon the basis of which aspirants might appeal for nomination; consequently by virtue of an amendment caucuses were permitted to choose delegates to county conventions and these to state conventions, to be held before the primary. County conventions chose county committees and state and other committees were chosen as the state conventions should determine. It was specifically enacted that "no action should be taken by said state convention either for or against any person who is or may be a candidate for any office that is to be voted on at the next general election."

Another law of 1909 provided for the nonpartisan election and petition nomination of all judges, the state university regents, and county and state superintendents of public instruction, in such stringent terms, however (forbidding nomination, endorsement, recommendation, censure, criticism, or reference by any political party, etc. . . .) that the state supreme court declared it was in conflict with three sections of the bill of rights. An act for the same purpose was vetoed in 1911, and finally in 1912 nonpartisan nomination and election of judges was secured. In 1917 the same method of selection was extended to the other offices included in the original proposal.

RECENT ATTEMPTED MODIFICATIONS

The most important feature of a law of 1919,—restoring conventions for the seven minor, political, elective, state offices,—was referred by petition and overwhelmingly defeated (1920) 49,000 to 133,000. The unreferred parts of this law again fixed the time for the county and state conventions after the primary, and provided for the election at the primary of delegates to the county conventions and of one man

and one woman committeeman from each precinct.

An act of the 1921 legislature once more placed the conventions before the primary and exempted from the operation of the primary all delegates to national, state and local conventions and members of party committees. This included the national committeemen and delegates to national conventions. Caucuses, under the direction of the local committeemen, were to select delegates to the county conventions. The state conventions were authorized to "transact such other business as may be properly and legally entertained by such conventions," and the clause forbidding conventions to take any action respecting candidates was repealed, as was also the requirement that women constitute half of the county committees. This law was suspended by petition and will in all probability be defeated in November. The chairman of the Republican state committee in an argument in the publicity pamphlet, states that endorsement of candidates by political groups has been practiced in Nebraska during the last three years. The League of Women Voters submits an argument quoting, somewhat incongruously, selected statements of Mr. Hughes regarding the primary. The argument of the person who filed the referendum petition, and later objected to the ballot title drawn up by the secretary of state, and persuaded the district court to rewrite it, contains the following: "The primary law may need amendment but not by its enemies. There is no demand or need for political bosses. This act destroys popular control of the parties and restores to full bloom and power the old convention system."

Another act of 1921 made general the same registration and enrollment system in the main which now applies

only in cities of 7,000 inhabitants or more. This act was also referred and will likely be rejected. It was intended to prevent the prevalent cross-voting in the primary and was especially directed toward the nonpartisan leaguers. Apparently rural voters wish to vote where the voting is best.

NEBRASKA'S SACRED COW

There is not the least doubt that the primary is popular in Nebraska. It is almost a sacred cow. A few of its less ardent friends assert that this jealous popular attachment is partly the result of continued newspaper harping, not altogether without its relation to the amount of money spent in advertising by primary candidates. A majority, perhaps, of intelligent persons maintain that the primary broke the stranglehold of the public utility corporations, especially the railroads, upon the state. The railroads are said to have controlled all party conventions by the issue of free passes to their supporters among the delegates and indeed to nearly all public officials.

The primary vote, although not as large as might be expected on account of the strong popular sentiment for the primary, has probably constituted a larger percentage of the general election vote than in most other states. The record of participation for 1907-1912 annually and 1914-1920 biennially, has been: 39, 36, 45, 44, 57, 52, 60, 63, 60 and 50 per cent. This year the primary vote was the largest of all, considered absolutely, but only 13,000 greater than that of two previous years. The women have not participated extensively as yet or else the men are resigning in their favor.

LITTLE CHANGE AMONG OFFICE HOLDERS

It is generally conceded that the primary has produced little change in the character and ability of office hold-

ers, although in 1914, twenty-three replies to an inquiry brought the response that the quality of candidates had improved and thirty-two that it had deteriorated. During the last years of the convention system, however, it is said some unusually weak gubernatorial candidates were nominated.

In view of the violent denunciation of the convention system by many enlightened persons the small degree of change in personnel under the primary is surprising. One of Nebraska's present United States senators was a convention nominee for the house in 1902, 4, and 6; the other in 1898, 1902, 4, and 6. The primary has dealt charitably with the corruptionists! Only two other men have represented the state in the senate since 1907. One of these, commonly spoken of as a railroad senator, elected in 1905 after meeting only scattering opposition in the senatorial preference primary, had received convention endorsement for the house in 1898, 1900, 1902, 1904. The other, elected in 1907, after receiving the primary preference, had been a convention nominee in 1898 for the house, and in 1904 for attorney general. The former received primary preference again in 1910. The latter's party opponent had been a convention nominee for governor in 1902. In 1912 the Democratic primary preferee had been a convention nominee for the house in 1900 and 1902, and for governor in 1906. In 1916, the Republican opponent of Mr. Hitchcock had been a convention nominee for the house in 1904 and 1906. In fact, it seems that since 1905 only the Democratic nominee in 1918 had not previously found favor in a convention, and he was defeated in the general election by a Republican who had.

Of the twelve major party nominees for United States representatives this

year only two are "new men"; five were once convention nominees for the same office, two for judicial office, two for legislative office, and one was formerly chairman of a state party committee. In 1908 the first primary renominated in the six congressional districts of the state, five Republican and one Democratic incumbent, who had all been previously nominated by convention. Friends of the primary insist, and doubtlessly with a considerable degree of truth, that a man who receives a primary nomination is more responsive to popular demands than the same man when a convention nominee, although the primary must have taken such a man on trust for the first time.

NO DEARTH OF ASPIRANTS

For state-wide offices and United States representatives there cannot be said to exist any dearth of aspirants. In fact, the candidacies are at times so numerous as to prevent anything like majority nominations. The present governor was nominated in 1920 by 32½ per cent of the party primary vote. This year the Republican nominee for United States senator received only 34 per cent of the primary vote; the nominee for secretary of state 33 per cent; for treasurer 26 per cent; and for United States representative in the first district, 40 per cent. The Democratic candidate for attorney general received only 25 per cent of the primary vote and the candidate for treasurer 32 per cent. Nomination by a minority of the party vote is objectionable when the office is a policy-determining one, but the convention system cannot claim to have done any better than the primary.

This plethora of aspirants makes the voters' task extremely difficult. One may almost say that the primary for

minor offices is little better than a lottery. On the eve of the primary this year a number of students interviewed voters to learn how many were familiar with the names alone of the aspirants for the various nominations. With respect to the office of state treasurer, seventy-one of seventy-eight persons visited could not name a single aspirant, five could name one, one two, and one four. Inquiry for the names of aspirants for the attorney generalship were directed to seventy-two persons. Forty-one knew none, nineteen one, six two, two three, and one all. One voter out of the forty-nine consulted could name three aspirants for the office of railway commissioner, two could name two, seven one, and thirty-nine none. Among the aspirants for the office of sheriff, twenty-four out of seventy voters knew none, fourteen knew one, fifteen two, nine three, three four, one five, one seven, one eight, and two nine or all. Several voters insisted that if the aspirants were only named to them they then could tell their choices. One woman who had already voted by mail could not recall her favorite until the list of aspirants was furnished. Of course, perhaps half of the voters interviewed did not intend to vote at the primary.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that false candidacies are sometimes promoted to cut into the strength of an opponent. This is done more often in local elections. A correspondent from Omaha states that there are always such candidacies in Douglas county. It is believed by the informed that this year two men, perhaps themselves innocent of ulterior motive, were induced to file for the United States senatorial nomination in order to defeat Mr. Howell.

The filings for county offices and for state senator and representative, are not so numerous.

PARTY ORGANIZATIONS NOT DOMINANT

Nearly all the testimony is to the effect that the party organizations, as such, play an insignificant part in determining the outcome of the primary. Difficult as this is to believe, it must be admitted that if the organization acts, it covers its tracks with skill. Of course there are groups and cliques back of this and that primary aspirant. The writer has been told that no work whatever for the organization is required or expected of election officials, and presumably also of the more important appointive positions. Lack of time has prevented an intensive investigation but the reasons given for the organizations' neutrality are these: The organization is weak because of insufficiency of "pap," there is not enough "spoils" to support an organization. (In the main this would have been equally true under the convention system). There is not in Nebraska any tradition of party regularity, but rather one of independence of party, and there is no adequate number of hidebound partisans and wheelhorses to work with or upon. The quickest way to cause the defeat of a primary aspirant would be to have it known that he was an organization favorite. The voters resent any group support of a candidate and even look with suspicion and distrust upon newspaper support. Organization support is not considered fair play under the primary. And finally, should the organization fail to secure the nomination of its favorites, those it opposed would attack it; in short, participation in the primary would soon disrupt the organization. The party organizations have apparently become inert and inefficient under the primary, though the personnel remains much the same. No one cares what they do. And, of course, the selection of committeemen

and delegates has become, as in New York and New Jersey, a mere formality at the primary. Contests are rare and no filings are made in many instances. A considerable number of people would apparently abolish parties altogether if they could. Probably many men of political ambitions, however, now feel that their chances of success would be increased under another system, just as formerly the insurgents viewed the primary as an agency for cutting the ground from under those then in control. The organization generally believes the primary has lessened party enthusiasm and party loyalty and substituted what it likes to call "personal politics."

Nearly all are agreed that wide acquaintanceship is the chief factor in a primary aspirant's success, especially for nominations that attract minor attention. An "easy" name counts for much, and a well-known name for more. The name of the Republican nominee for railway commissioner is the same, with the exception of the middle initial, as that of the gubernatorial nominee. Some careful students of politics believe he was the beneficiary of the extensive advertising of the latter. The name of the nominee for secretary of state is Kennedy, which is also that of a man who made an intensive campaign for the United States senatorial nomination in 1918, and that of a well-known lawyer and former state official. One wonders all the more, in view of these facts, why it would not be easy for selfish interests to "direct" the primary, and, at least temporarily, entrench themselves in the state government.

There is wide agreement that the newspapers exercise little influence on the primary. A leading editorial writer says that they are not living up to their opportunities in this respect. The reasons are that the Nebraska

public generally does not seem to relish newspaper advice on politics, that it is difficult for an editor to be sure that he is backing the right man, and chiefly, especially with the smaller papers, that the desire to secure advertising patronage from all aspirants and an unwillingness to offend any or to furnish free what might be made a source of revenue, weigh heavily.

REGULATION OF EXPENDITURES

One of the most frequently heard objections to the primary is the expense it involves in making a promising campaign. It is probable that for the less important offices expenditures are considered extravagant and burdensome here that would be considered reasonable and proper in many states. But a prominent newspaper man says one can hardly be prepared to undertake a campaign for the governorship (including perhaps primary and election) with less than \$40,000 in his pocket. It is reported on excellent authority that there was spent in the interest of the Republican nominee for governor this year the sum of \$50,000. Lower estimates are \$15,000 to \$20,000. For each of three or four other contestants in the state and national field the expenditures must have reached at least \$10,000 to \$15,000. A person well acquainted in Omaha believes several thousand dollars from various sources were spent in backing certain candidates for sheriff.

The legal situation regarding election expenditures is peculiar. In 1899 a stringent limitation and publicity measure was enacted. It contemplated outlay for only personal expenses as in travel, and expenses for public meetings, and limited expenditures for these purposes to about \$1,000 for state-wide candidacy. In 1915 congressional candidates were exempted from the regulations limiting expenditures, and

perhaps also those requiring publicity. The proviso was added also for all candidates, that expenditures for stationery and postage, for writing and printing and distributing letters, circulars and posters, and for telegraph and telephone service, should not be regarded as expenditures within the meaning of the law and need not be shown in the expense accounts required to be filed. Candidates seem to interpret the law about as they please, although perhaps the majority regard the cost of newspaper advertising and of hiring personal services as required to be returned and to be kept within the limitations as to amount. There is absolutely no limit to the amount that may be legally devoted to many common forms of expenditure. Rather strangely, this legislation of 1915 seems to have caused little adverse comment. No expenses are filed which run above a thousand dollars.

The really serious defects of the primary, if indeed they can be regarded as peculiar to the primary system, are its failure to develop responsible and capable leadership, and the unwillingness of qualified and public-spirited men to ask for office through this form of popular election.

The primary in Nebraska, as elsewhere, offers an opportunity for the voters to take active control of their parties and their nominees when they desire earnestly to do so. It operates here in an unusually favorable environment as compared with many other states, and consequently the opportunity is seizable with much less exertion. It is the writer's opinion that practically the entire population of the state could have readily united in fighting the utilities, which were largely foreign; that smaller business is now economically in the saddle, especially banking business, and is largely content with the primary

system. Some form of responsible recommendation would probably be an improvement here if the short ballot cannot be achieved. From Omaha comes the opinion that the

direct primary had little effect upon the old regular officeholders. "They still are entrenched in their places as a rule, and have little difficulty hanging on."

WANTED: CIVIC DRAMATISTS

THE PLACE OF THE MOVIES IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

WILL H. HAYS, "the Sir Galahad of Motion Pictures," as a writer in an Unitarian weekly recently called him, is authority for the statement that about 15,000,000 people go to the movies in this country every twenty-four hours; that there are 18,000 motion picture theatres, with a seating capacity of more than 8,000,000 in the United States; that these people spend at least \$800,000,000 a year in admissions; that somewhat less than 50 per cent of the attendance on motion pictures is by children. Whatever the figures there is no question that the motion picture audiences represent the greatest field of opportunity the country now affords, far exceeding those afforded by Chautauquas, forums, lyceums or lecture associations. If these great, persistently great, audiences can be reached in the interest of higher civic ideals and can be utilized to develop a sound civic pride in worth while movements and developments, then there is no limit to their possibilities of usefulness.

HEALTH PROPAGANDA IN MICHIGAN

Much has already been done in the utilization of the silver screen in the education of public opinion, but it has been along much more restricted lines than is afforded by the utilization of the regular movie houses. Maude Van

Syckle tells a wonderful story of how motion pictures were utilized in a health educational propaganda. While attending the Mississippi Valley Conference on Tuberculosis at Des Moines she saw a demonstration of health films and the possibilities of their use in local work. On her return she recommended to the Detroit Junior Red Cross and the Tuberculosis Society, of which she was the executive secretary, that their peculiar educational value be taken advantage of in their educational campaigns. This was done, and extensive use has been made in Detroit and Wayne county of exhibitions of motion picture films by these organizations. The results have been astonishingly gratifying and prove the success of this way of presenting health propaganda.

These societies first utilized films in the modern health crusade work which was being introduced in the city and county schools. An operator was employed who arranged for exhibitions in schools, mothers' clubs, normal schools, churches, parochial schools, industrial clubs and factories. Permission was obtained to display the films at a monthly meeting of the medical society, at which was also exhibited a film on the diagnosis of tuberculosis, borrowed from the United States Public Health Service. She also se-

cured the co-operation of the Detroit Chapter American Red Cross, whose nurses exhibited the reels in the county schools, in churches, granges and mothers' clubs and in the chain of clinics conducted by the Red Cross jointly with her society throughout Wayne County. At the county fair, the reels were shown nightly in the exhibit of the Tuberculosis Society. At the state fair, they were shown nightly in the Red Cross tent.

Next the interest of the Michigan Motion Picture Exhibitors' Association was solicited and obtained. They agreed to exhibit free of charge, two copies of each of four reels on one hundred and seventy-five days in all the picture theatres whose program ran weekly, with a further display afterward throughout Wayne county and Michigan. The Association arranged all necessary details in distributing, delivering and collecting the films and keeping them in repair. The initial cost of the films was paid by the Tuberculosis Society and the Junior Red Cross and a legend to this effect appeared as a trailer to each reel. The publicity secured by the exhibition of these films in this city of a million population through the various agencies described has been of the greatest value in health education, and Miss Van Syckle declares an equal amount could not be obtained in any other way except at an enormous cost.

HEALTH FILMS INCREASING

Leslie W. Sprague, of the Community Motion Picture Bureau (Industrial Section) is authority for the statement that the collection of available health films is steadily increasing. He points out that under subjects of general interest the motion picture is capable of presenting appealingly facts relating to the care and caution which must be shown by all citizens in order

to observe necessary sanitary rules and to keep themselves in proper health; that under subjects of needed reform in public health it will be effective in promoting and dominating public opinion, and through an awakened public opinion secure necessary appropriations for the furtherance of general health.

Where and how to use motion pictures for public health purposes are questions which must be answered by and for each community in accordance with local conditions. A motion picture theatre is often available for special programs of general community interest. Health films are often shown by theaters in connection with their recreational programs. For the desired result, however, Mr. Sprague believes it to be a wise plan to use the theater to present a full program in the interest of some specific health need and to invite the citizens to view the pictures without charge. Brief addresses by health experts will give an added interest and effectiveness to the films that are shown.

In communities where there is no motion picture theater available for health propaganda, (although there are now very few such) it is always possible to use a church, a school auditorium or a hall—even the streets—for the projection of health programs. Not the least effective means of reaching the particular elements of a community most in need of an awakened interest is found to be the projection of rightly organized health programs in parks or streets where the many congregate on summer evenings.

FIRE PROTECTION CAMPAIGNS

By a combination of these and other means, it is not impossible with motion pictures to bring to the citizens of any community health interests of timely vital importance. With equal force

the same may be said with regard to other essential civic activities. They have been most effectively used in fire protection campaigns.

"An Unbeliever Convinced" is the title of a two reel moving picture which the Essanay Film Manufacturing Company completed for the Underwriters Laboratories. This is believed to be one of the most telling pictures of its kind ever produced. Through the co-operation of the bureau of fire prevention and public safety and of the fire and police departments of the city of Chicago, there were staged and photographed many scenes which it is quite impossible to provide in a commercial moving picture. The result is a comprehensive, convincing sermon on fire protection. The hazard of poor house-keeping is portrayed; the crime of depending on a single wooden stairway as the only means of egress from upper floors is illustrated; the danger of smoking in an industrial plant is emphasized; the probable consequences of hanging workroom doors to open inward are pictured; the importance of co-operation with institutions, organizations and officials engaged in safety work is shown in ways that are impressive and convincing.

Thrilling action runs through the film from the start. This includes striking scenes of a great fire department in action; and it all hinges around the experiences of the two principal actors in the picture, thus adding a dignified element of heart interest that is bound to prove appealing and effective.

The picture has been furnished to public officials and others for use at fire protection and safety first meetings and has been instrumental in educating public opinion on the whole subject of fire prevention, and the individual citizen's responsibility in connection therewith. Not long since the Muni-

pal Reference Library of New York (Municipal Building) published a list of the sources from which may be obtained lantern slides for use in connection with the observance of fire prevention day.

In this connection it is interesting to note that through the courtesy of the New York fire department, the Underwriters' Laboratories purchased the moving picture known as "The Locked Door" for use by those co-operating with the Laboratories in the promotion of proper standards for protection against fire and accident. This picture, which was made by the Vitagraph Company, a three-reel feature of a highly interesting character, is a fire-protection story that has proved exceedingly effective wherever the film has been exhibited.

"THE FINGER OF JUSTICE"

Motion pictures have been utilized in an entirely different field and with great success. Some years ago Paul Smith was the pastor of a Methodist Church in San Francisco. One day there came a modest demand for a neighborhood clean-up. The revelations that that demand, almost over night, brought in his Methodist parish in San Francisco turned a small crusade into a statewide fight for the suppression of a revolting vice condition. Investigations revealed not only the vice conditions themselves—commercialized vice, illicit liquor sales and gambling—but an elaborate system of police protection. Dr. Smith found himself at the head of the army of decency. On the other side were deeply entrenched political forces.

It was a melodramatic fight. In the thick of it one day hundreds of women of the underworld stormed Central Church and demanded of the pastor what was to become of them. He met the situation firmly and talked to them

sensibly. Then came a big mass meeting, so crowded that 2,000 persons came and were denied admission. There was a demand for a clean-up. It was the turning point of the fight. It resulted in the appointment of a Morals Squad of policemen with instructions to close the barbary coast and the uptown tenderloin and to give the city a thorough cleaning. In a period of two hours, 206 barbary coast vice resorts with 1,400 inmates were closed. But the clean-up left California with the question that the women themselves had propounded when they visited the Central Methodist Church: What was to be done with them? Dr. Smith took up their cause as earnestly as he had taken up the fight against vice. He stumped the state in the interest of a rehabilitation farm for them. It was during this crusade that the motion picture idea came to Dr. Smith: If the whole story of the California situation could be told in a film it would in itself be a powerful argument. Once he had the conviction he set to work. He found friends who were willing to finance the venture. He rented a studio at San Rafael. He employed a director and a company and "The Finger of Justice" was made. It has spoken its message from screens in almost every state in the Union and in other countries.

This success of "The Finger of Justice" gave birth to another idea with Dr. Smith. He had seen just what problems the churches had faced in getting films suitable for their use. The fact that he had produced just what he wanted for his cause led him to believe that the churches could produce just what they wanted. Dr. Smith believes that there is another mission in which the motion picture can aid greatly. The spirit of service to-day calls the church to a new place in community life. Both in the rural and

industrial community the church must provide a larger part of the social and civic life than it has in the past. The clergy have realized this for many years, though perhaps not so fully as since the war. The abolition of the saloon had increased this responsibility of the churches. Upon them must rest the burden, not only of providing a substitute meeting place, but of offering clean, wholesome social contacts for such gatherings that by their friendliness will make the church the community center. The motion picture has proved the most popular form of recreation in America. If the Churches endeavor to furnish recreation as well as religious teaching and worship as its part of the community program, the film must have a conspicuous part.

HOUSING PICTURES

Housing is another field wherein the motion picture has been widely and effectively used. Illustrations of what has been done in different communities both here and abroad have been compiled in cinema form by the Community Motion Picture Bureau of New York which has a number of reels available for all who care to know how housing problems have been met and overcrowding relieved.

Among the first to undertake the building of the so-called model cities was England, possibly because she had her Ruskin before America developed her Emergency Fleet Corporation which by the way, put through some excellent housing plans during the war. Letchworth was the first English garden city, and Port Sunlight, the Lever Brothers project, has since come into fame. The Bureau's films show not only these cities, but others constructed in England and Scotland during the war. They then take up the housing accomplishments in this country, at Sun Hill and Yorkship, near Camden,

N. J., at Atlantic Heights, Portsmouth and at South Jacksonville, Fla.; at Newburgh, N. Y., and at Clyde, Cal. Governmental, municipal and industrial activity in these places has resulted in attractive and healthy quarters for workmen.

There are also pictures of the apartments of the Froebel League of New York and statistics to show that the corporation which erected these extraordinarily attractive buildings gets a net income of between 6 and 7 per cent on the investment; and the rent for a five-room apartment is something under \$10 per week. If the motion pictures can bring us such strange and wonderful news as that, surely their frivolous ways may be forgiven and their existence justified on one count.

MAKES SCENARIO FROM ANNUAL REPORT

Roscoe D. Wyatt, the Manager of the San Jose, Cal., Chamber of Commerce, conceived the idea of dramatizing his annual report and so he prepared a scenario bearing the title "In the Valley of Heart's Delight. Annual Report of the San Jose Chamber of Commerce, 1919-1920. A Novel Visualized Presentation Conceived and Supervised by Roscoe D. Wyatt."

The film was 2,400 feet long, and depicted in entertaining form the varied activities of the Chamber during the year. In preparing the scenario and film pictures, it was kept constantly in mind that the story was to be an annual report from first to last, not an advertisement of the many scenic and other attractions of the city and the valley. However, so wide and varied had been the doings of the Chamber during the year that without interfering with the continuity of the theme, the scope of the annual report permitted the introduction of most of the scenic features.

There was shown on the screen in appropriate places pictures of the city's public buildings; several modern grammar schools and the new school buildings under construction by means of a bond issue which the Chamber helped to put over; of typical city and country homes; of business blocks and busy street scenes; of new industrial concerns brought into the city through the Chamber and of some of the 38 large fruit, vegetable and berry canneries in the city and country. There were also included the famous Lick Observatory at the summit of Mount Hamilton nearby; the State Normal School, with its picturesque old mission architecture; the University of Santa Clara, the College of the Pacific, the Stanford University; stretches of the 800 miles of paved highway in the valley, including 65 miles lined with orchards on both sides.

TWO PAMPHLETS

Ina Clement of New York, has prepared two pamphlets which show in striking detail what has been done in the field of "Visualizing Citizenship" (the title of one) and in the field of "Teaching Citizenship via the Movies" (the title of the other). They were published by the New York Municipal Reference Library which realized the use to which motion pictures might be put by cities in awakening public interest in civic affairs. The main attempt in both these reports was to list the best motion picture films available for use by municipalities, classified by civic subjects, and giving definite information as to the source of each. It has been of use to many cities, civic organizations and to schools, as a source list of such films.

PUSHING THE CITY PLAN

Chicago has perhaps gone further than any other American city in its

persistent propaganda for a definite city plan and perhaps further than any other in utilizing the motion pictures. Its most ambitious project was some years ago when it sought to screen the city in a film entitled "A Tale of One City" dedicated to the Chicago Plan. Here is how its initial production was described by a enthusiastic reporter in *The Herald*:

Chicago as a movie actor made its debut last night in the two-reel film, "A Tale of One City" dedicated to the Chicago Plan. A part of the 2,000,000 actors who made up the cast were there as audience. The house was sold out and city, county and state officials occupying boxes gave color to the city's debut on the screen.

The singing of "Hail Chicago" by the audience preceded the first reel of Chicago's greatness and future greatness in picture. "The Star-Spangled Banner" was the close. Laughable incidents in the Ghetto, moonlight yatching on the lake, night maneuvers of fire tugs in the face of flames were all a part of this film, devised to herald to the world how big Chicago is striving to make itself grow bigger, better, more systematic and more pleasing to the eye. Reproductions of the widened Twelfth street, the reconstructed river front, the transformed lake front, the widened boulevard in Michigan avenue, were all thrown on the screen as contrasted with the present condition, inspiring outbursts of civic pride and approbation.

"The Tale of One City" with all its realism has the punch that's keeping every movie director awake these nights," was the comment of a theatrical man after viewing its first night.

ARE CIVIC DRAMATISTS NEEDED?

All I have thus far reported may be interesting to those who are concerned for the welfare of our cities, but to what extent is the caption: "Wanted—Civic Dramatists" justified?

We are told by that thoughtful and delightful publicist, my one time class-mate, Dickinson S. Miller, who by the way is a professor in the General Theological Seminary, that

A certain deep-seated vice or weakness of democracy was pointed out long ago. It is that for the individual, democracy is uninteresting. Taken by himself alone, he has so little power that it seems to him unimportant whether he

exercises it or not. To Frederick or Napoleon the business of government was interesting. It was creative work on a colossal scale. He could see his own strokes shaping a nation. His material, of course was more or less intractable but still it again and again was fashioned to his purpose. To govern is, for a despot, an exciting occupation. To exercise the elective franchise of a single citizen under democracy is not exciting. Nothing can make the citizen believe that it is a vital matter whether he, as a single unit, casts his vote or not or even for whom he casts it.

Government can be made just as interesting, even exciting, if that is essential for the average voter, as it can be for the despot. The issues are just as great, for government means so much more now than it did in the days of the despot.

It is something more than wars and rumors of war, something more than boundary lines and questions of succession. It is a matter of life and death, of joy and comfort, but the average voter must be made to see all this,—he must have a vision. Three men were laying bricks. Each was asked what he was doing. The first replied that he was "just laying bricks." The second said he was "working for so many dollars a day." The third answered "I am building a cathedral."

Our problem is to get the message of the possibilities of our modern democracy to the people. We must inspire in them a desire to build cities, great and strong and true, and as an agency to this end we must use the motion pictures not as direct propaganda films, such as have been so far described herein, with an exception or two, but through the real dramatization of the great issues and ideas involved. We need civic dramatists to see and reproduce the truly dramatic features of modern civic life.

A few nights ago I saw the film "The Moonlight Sonata" a truly beautiful one. It told the story of how Beethoven, the master, happening to

hear some one playing his scores, discovered that it was a timid blind girl who was at the piano. He went in and after playing for her tried to tell her the story of the beauties of the night without. Words failed him and then he turned to the piano and in those gloriously beautiful tones, never to be forgotten, played for her the glories of the stars, the moon, the whole heaven and the forest under the moonlight. And so the Moonlight Sonata came into being. The audience viewed the film, accompanied

as it was by the music, spellbound and when it was finished, broke into tumultuous applause—the only applause of the evening in a program of unusual merit.

That is what the people want, the beauties, the glories, the possibilities of modern life and civilization, made real.

Where are the civic dramatists who can do this thing? If Will H. Hays can find and develop them and give to them the necessary opportunity he will indeed be entitled to be enrolled as a benefactor of America.

REVIEW OF REPORTS ON FUNDED DEBT OF CITIES

BY C. E. RIGHTOR

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

A Report upon the Community's Outstanding Debt. By the Cleveland Municipal Research Bureau; June, 1922.

A Survey of the Bonded Debt and the Operation of the Sinking Fund. By the Minneapolis Bureau of Municipal Research; March, 1922.

The Bonded Debt of St. Paul. By the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research; July, 1922.

Duluth's Bonded Debt. By the Taxpayers' League of St. Louis County (Duluth); February, 1922.

A Study of the Financial and Accounting Offices of Kansas City. By the Kansas City Public Service Institute; February, 1922.

Budget Facts and Financial Statistics. By the Multnomah County (Portland, Oregon) Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission (an official bureau); March, 1922.

THE facts brought out in these reports of bureaus of municipal research on bonded debt, debt incurring limits, sinking fund deficits, proposed and adopted remedies to eliminate these deficits and prevent future mismanagement of the public debt, evidence the increasing popular interest in these

subjects. The work of the several bureaus in effecting economies for hard pressed taxpayers to-day proves the service such agencies are rendering in contributing toward a new area of safe and sane financing.

CLEVELAND'S CONDITION

The Cleveland Bureau recites that examination was made of the city's bonded debt as of January 1, 1920, and again on January 1, 1922.

In the first study it was found that bonds had been issued for excessive terms, and bond funds had been expended for current expenses. An actuarial study of the general sinking fund showed a shortage of \$6,121,083, or 50 per cent, and the city was piling up huge annual deficits. The Bureau at that time recommended bringing up the sinking fund to its actuarial basis by a \$700,000 annual tax levy. This policy was adopted. The Bureau also recommended that proceeds of bond

sales should be expended only for capital improvements, and the term of bonds be limited to the estimated life of the improvements, as provided in the New Jersey law of 1916, and that only serial bonds be issued. These recommendations were made effective by the state legislature thru the enactment of the Griswold Act in 1921.

In its second study, the Cleveland Bureau found that on January 1, 1922, conditions were relatively worse than in 1920, due to delinquent tax payments, failure to levy a sufficient amount for debt charges, diversion of sinking fund revenues for general fund purposes, and arrearages of special assessments income. Debt charges in Cleveland in 1922 require 32 cents of every tax dollar.

In Ohio, due to the complicated Smith "One Per Cent Law" and its numerous internal limitations and amendments, including the Gardner Law which remedied conditions up to 1920, additional bond issues since 1920 will not affect the tax rate but will reduce the amount of available funds for operation. The law now results in a "free for all" by the city, schools, and county for available tax money, as the county is the unit of taxation, and there are no fixed tax limits for the subdivisions.

Conditions now point to the inability of Cleveland to keep the sinking fund up to actuarial requirements unless an additional \$200,000 be levied annually. The water sinking fund has been put on a sound basis, due to the Bureau's recommendation. The electricity and school sinking funds are actuarially sound.

The concluding recommendations of the Cleveland Bureau are: First, that proposed bond issues be carefully scrutinized; second, that the city plan its capital outlay program for a period of years; third, that the tax laws be

revamped by fixing limits of taxation for each political subdivision; fourth, that debt charges be exempted from the tax limit; and fifth, that the city put some of its capital improvements on a "pay as you go" basis.

An interesting observation upon Cleveland's financial troubles, though not mentioned in the Bureau report, is that some writers expect the city manager plan, which becomes effective in Cleveland in 1924, to solve its financial difficulties!

MINNEAPOLIS FINDS HUGE SHORTAGE

The Minneapolis Bureau finds the city approaching its bonding limit, but in urgent need of major improvements. The sinking fund is inadequate, and no financial policy is being followed. Bonds have been issued for short-lived improvements, as school room equipment, and for current operating deficiency. The Bureau's protests at budget time had been unavailing until the current year.

The Bureau ascertained that, on an actuarial basis, there was a sinking fund shortage as of January 1, 1922, of approximately \$5,000,000 out of the required \$7,600,000. Computations show that the deficit will increase to \$6,000,000 by December 31, 1922. The effect on the price of bonds is cited.

In Minneapolis the tax levy for sinking fund purposes prior to 1916 had been one mill; since 1916, due largely to the Bureau study then made, the levy was increased to three mills. But the Bureau now finds that even this increased levy is insufficient, and an additional annual levy is required.

As a result of its investigation, the Bureau recommends: First, a law similar to that of New Jersey covering the issue of bonds,—that the character of improvements shall be classified and a term of bonds prescribed for each class; that no bonds shall be issued for

current operation, and that all bonds shall mature in annual installments; second, that only serial bonds be issued in the future; third, that a "pay-as-you-go" plan of financing public improvements be adopted; fourth, that a three- or five-year plan of improvements and their cost be outlined; and, fifth, that a single budget be adopted, so that all improvements may be considered in conjunction with the request for operation and maintenance.

The report also suggests courses for the future control of bond issues and their redemption. The Minneapolis report is an excellent one, presenting the material in an orderly manner, with tables of bond maturities, interest calculations, etc.

ST. PAUL HAS BLANKET LIMIT ON EXPENDITURES

The St. Paul Bureau gives a clear-cut statement of bonds outstanding, debt limits, etc. Of the current tax dollar, 19 cents are required for debt services. The city's debt on April 1, 1922, was \$13,933,600, of which \$4,625,600 were "cash basis" bonds and \$3,402,000 "refunding" bonds. The Bureau concludes, therefore, that except for poor financing in past years, the city's debt on that date should be but \$5,906,000.

The St. Paul charter provides that the sinking fund and the redemption of bonds shall not be included in a \$30 per capita limitation on municipal expenditures. Interest charges are a part of the \$30 limitation. The effect of future bond issues upon operating costs and taxes is pointed out.

The sale of bonds by competitive bidding is urged, although at least one private sale has been made. The Bureau advocates the New Jersey procedure in borrowing, by which the premium feature is eliminated.

Serial bonds are urged, and the

disadvantages of term bonds cited as being that officials may not levy a sufficient amount for the sinking fund, or may omit the levy in certain years, as did St. Paul, and the public officials may not be financiers in investing the fund. It is asserted that the serial is more popular with the bond dealers than the term bond, although "the city usually has to pay a higher rate of interest on serial bonds, so the cost of the two is approximately the same."

An actuarial study of the sinking fund disclosed assets amounting to \$802,938, and a deficiency of \$1,163,116. No analysis was made of why this condition exists. The remedy proposed and being followed to erase the deficit is by revising the sinking fund schedule through the next twenty-nine years, by using the present sinking fund to meet requirements so far as possible, and to recompute the sinking fund requirements on all outstanding bonds after that time, on an adjusted, shorter term, basis for the life of the bonds.

DULUTH

The Duluth Taxpayers' League calls attention to the shortcomings of the financial policy of that city. It is asserted that at one time in its history Duluth defaulted upon its bonds, and this action by any city works a permanent handicap in future borrowing.

The sinking fund was found to be deficient, as determined by an actuarial study, and it was proposed to place it upon a sound basis through an annual levy for a period of years. The issuance of serial bonds, only, is advocated.

PAY-AS-YOU-GO ADVOCATED FOR KANSAS CITY

The Kansas City Bureau discloses that the charter permits the issuance of bonds "for any purpose, of any

nature, whatsoever," and that at present bonds are issued for a twenty-year period regardless of the nature of the improvement, due to a state law fixing a twenty-year term as the limit. Kansas City in 1915 issued \$690,000 of bonds, and on April 18, 1921, had lying idle in its treasury \$600,171 of the proceeds.

It is found that in the past years there has been no apparent relation between the amount levied and the requirements by actuarial computation for sinking fund purposes. For the years 1912 through 1915 no levy was made, although over \$2,000,000 general bonds were outstanding. A two-and-one-half mill levy for debt charges, instead of actual needs, has resulted in a deficit in the sinking fund on April 18, 1921, of \$1,046,242. The required accumulation should be \$3,584,025, but is only \$2,537,783. Of this total the general sinking fund deficiency is \$649,558, and the water sinking fund deficiency \$396,684.

As a remedy for these conditions in Kansas City, the Bureau recommends: First, that bonds should be issued only for permanent improvements; second, that a "pay-as-you-go" policy should be established. Many improvements being financed by bonds should be financed through current income, although the interest and sinking fund charges on the bonded debt are not included within the ten mill state limits on the city's tax rate. Third, it is advocated that term bonds should not be for a longer time than the estimated life of the improvement; fourth, that bonds should not be issued until the proceeds are needed.

The Bureau also suggests that complete plans should be made before any bond proposal is submitted to the voters. The present provision that a two-thirds majority vote is necessary to carry a bond issue is deemed of little

merit in the absence of such planning. It is recommended that premiums and unused balances of funds should be placed in the sinking fund, whereas the present policy is to add the premium to the fund available for financing the improvement. While the state constitution and statutes and the city charter require sinking fund bonds, the difficulty of administering the sinking fund is given as the chief argument against the sinking fund method. A sinking fund commission is advocated, rather than having the controller administer the fund as is now required by charter. Further, instead of depositing sinking fund cash in the general bank of the city, as at present is done, a separate bank account is recommended.

To remedy the deficiency in the sinking fund, it is found that the two-and-one-half mill levy should be continued even though the assessed valuation is rapidly increasing, and the charter should require a tax levy for debt services based upon actuarial computations. The report states that the serial bond is cheaper than the term bond, and is being generally advocated, and the necessary change is advocated in the constitution, statutes, and city charter to permit Kansas City to issue serial bonds.

MULTNOMAH COMMISSION SUGGESTS STATE SUPERVISION

In addition to its comments on the 1922 budgets, the Multnomah County Commission submits data on the county and city indebtedness.

The Commission finds "that the assets of the general sinking fund of the city are considerably less than half adequate to meet reserve requirements; that assets of the water sinking fund are only slightly more than one-third of the reserve requirements; that the dock sinking fund shows a surplus."

The general sinking fund of the city is found to have a deficit of \$1,832,308 on November 30, 1921, with obligations on outstanding bonds of \$3,135,704. The water sinking fund has a deficit of \$1,857,644, with resources of \$1,050,980. The large deficits in the two city sinking funds are due to setting aside inadequate installments in past years.

The Commission has computed that an annual levy of \$200,000 is required to recoup the general sinking fund to adequacy

As a result of its studies, the Commission suggests that restrictions be placed on local borrowing rather than on taxation; state supervision of local

debt, which might go so far as to prohibit any bond issue but serials; a limitation of the term of bonds to the life of the improvements; adequate sinking fund installments for existing term bonds; and a bidding on the interest rate rather than the principal of the bond.

In the case of each of the foregoing reports the title indicates the particular phases of the problem of financing the municipal debt that are considered. Obviously, in such brief reports, certain pertinent facts and data must be omitted, but collectively the reports constitute a valuable addition to the current literature on the subject.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

POPULAR GOVERNMENT. By Arnold Bennet Hall, J.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921. 280 pp.

The thesis of this book is that the representative form of government and representative political institutions will produce more nearly popular government than will the operations of direct democracy. This thesis the author defends ably, and perhaps more effectively than did recently Alleyn Ireland in *Democracy and the Human Equation* or Harry F. Atwood in *Back to the Republic*.

Accepting with generous quotation and acknowledgment the definition, prerequisites, and limitations of public opinion as suggested by President A. Lawrence Lowell, Dr. Hall defines popular government as "that form of political organization in which public opinion has control." By coupling with this major premise the appropriate minor in each case,—that the conditions necessary to an adequate public opinion do not prevail in the particular political practice under examination,—he arrives, in Chapters IV to IX, at conclusions unfavorable to the employment of the direct primary, the presidential primary, the initiative and the referendum, legislative supremacy, the recall of judicial decisions, and the recall of public officers, as means of securing popular government. The last chapter strongly advocates the adoption of the short ballot principle.

Conceding that "control by public opinion does not guarantee either the justice or accuracy of the control," but rather assures elements of strength and stability and "a definite tendency to realize the aspirations and convictions of the people—an ample justification for a democracy in a country such as ours," the author presents the fundamental questions: "How may the accuracy and reliability of public opinion be improved?" and "How must public opinion rule in order to rule best?" In answering the first question, the methods of improving the press, party leadership, and the intellectual and philosophical equipment of the people, as the chief forces in creating public opinion, are discussed in Chapter II.

In the treatment of the direct primary, in-

cluding the presidential primary, so-called, the customary arguments are advanced, along with the main attack:—"such a thing as public opinion on the best candidate for most of the offices for whom [sic] candidates are nominated, is wholly and absolutely impossible." Consequently, the author favors the selection of candidates by conventions of legally chosen delegates. Probably no one would deny the superior ability of a convention to select good candidates, but many would doubt the existence of the convention's predominating interest in doing so. One must realize that the members of the ordinary political convention constitute a group of persons possessed of fairly distinct and conscious interests.

A strong case is made out for constitutional and judicial restraint of legislative power. The author tends, however, to talk the imaginative language of the jurists: "It follows, therefore, that a people that would govern themselves wisely should seek to limit their own power and place restraints upon their own action"—as if, in constitutional conventions, no breath of faction stirs, no deep economic and social group interests find expression. Of course, where usable methods of amendment are present, one cannot much more reasonably object to a judicial review of legislative action than to such a review of administrative action.

This book should be of chief value to those who believe that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, and those, if there are any such, who think that "democracy" is a simple matter of letting the people vote on everything. It brings sharply to the reader's attention the seriousness of the problem of establishing the most efficient connection between an electorate and its government.

What students of political science especially need, however, is a sufficiently detailed investigation of the facts to establish the truth or falsity if possible, of contentions regarding the direct primary, the recall of public officers and so on, as well as a thorough study of the processes of public opinion, and the psychology of an official personnel. The book contains the result of no such original investigations.

RALPH S. BOOTS.

OUTLINES OF PUBLIC FINANCE. By Merlin Harold Hunter. New York: Harper Brothers, 1921.

The field of public finance is not very abundantly supplied with text books and what text books there are have not been altogether satisfactory. One is therefore inclined to examine with anxious hope the result of each new attempt to meet the need. Professor Hunter's *Outlines* seems to the reviewer better than some of the recent texts, yet hardly on a par with such standard works as those of Bastable and H. C. Adams. That the book is comprehensive in general outline, with hardly any matter falling within the purview of public finance seeming to be entirely overlooked, and with a presentation alternately historical, descriptive and analytical, is not a cause for unmixed satisfaction. It may be that this is the type of book which the market demands, the kind of text that teachers of public finance in general desire. The reviewer is distinctly of the opinion, however, that students would get more real intellectual discipline and would carry away more of value to them as citizens from a book covering much less ground but analyzing more fully a few fundamental principles of the subject. Thus, while Professor Hunter's discussion of the shifting and incidence of taxation is in the main sound so far as it goes, it seems unfortunate that in a book of over 500 pages only 20 pages can be spared for so important and underlying a part of the subject of public finance. And nothing at all appears to be said regarding the incidence of the excess profits tax as such. The criticism here intended, however, is not of the author for writing the kind of book desired, but of teachers of public finance in general for desiring this kind of book.

The book contains the time-worn arguments against the single tax with which conservative economists have familiarized us. Not only is the orthodox single tax opposed but there appears to be no sympathy with the less extreme view held by many professional economists, *e.g.*, Carver, that land should bear a larger proportion of the total tax burden. One is interested to be told (pages 367-68) that a piece of land is not particularly more a gift of nature than is a building since the building is made out of clay

(brick), oak, etc. which came from nature. But has the author, a professional teacher of economics, never heard of the theory of marginal productivity, in which produced wealth is imputed in part to each of the so-called factors of production? If he has, he should be able to see that there is a sense in which the land, apart from improvements, is very much more a gift of nature than the building. Can the land be in any way imputed to labor?

Near the beginning of the chapter on the single tax, reference is made to France, the physiocrats and the *impôt unique* of these economists. Then occur the amazing statements that "much was accomplished in putting the system (the *impôt unique*) into effect" and that "the injustice became so marked, and the dissatisfaction so evident, that the *impôt unique* was abandoned." Does the author mean to say that the reforms of Turgot went so far as to approach the *impôt unique*? In the *Century Magazine* for July, 1890, in a debate with Henry George on the single tax, Mr. Edward Atkinson made a somewhat similar statement. He said: "It (the single tax) was presented more than a century since by the economists of France known as the physiocrats; it was applied in France under Turgot, before the French Revolution, with very disastrous results." In the November (1890) number of the same magazine, replying to a communication from a Mr. James Middleton, Mr. Atkinson admitted that his own statement had been incorrect and that the single tax had not been tried in France. And if it is the reforms of Turgot which Professor Hunter has in mind (he is here vague as to date) it may be said that most modern historians do not declare the withdrawal of these reforms to have been due to their unfairness but to the pressure of the aristocratic group which forced Turgot's retirement. The author is apparently unfamiliar, also, with Professor Davenport's brilliant and searching paper on "Theoretical Issues in the Single Tax," published in 1917.

Towards the end of the book are chapters on public indebtedness, administration of public funds, financing an emergency (chiefly war), and the cost of war.

H. G. BROWN.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Boston Sets Important Pension Precedent.—With the enactment of a new pension law by the legislature of Massachusetts this session Boston has come into possession of a sound pension system for its employees. This has been the result of a prolonged effort extending over a period of several years.

The first attempt there to establish a sound system was made in 1913 by the special commission appointed by the legislature to look into the various pension systems in Massachusetts. This attempt resulted in the enactment of a law the same year for any municipality willing to avail itself of it. It never became effective, however, as it was deficient in several respects. Another legislative commission tackled the job in 1920, but without much result. Not until the Boston Finance Commission took hold of the matter early in 1921 was any real headway made.

The Finance Commission, under the able chairmanship of Judge Michael Sullivan, engaged the Bureau of State Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce to assist it in the technical part of the work. Mr. George B. Buck, actuary, and the writer represented the bureau in this work.

A bill was evolved which passed the legislature last year but failed to secure the approval of the governor, who was influenced by the urgent representation of the police commissioner, that the police and fire departments be excluded from its provisions.

The Finance Commission continued its efforts and reintroduced this bill in the 1922 session, re-enforced this time by the report on a comprehensive actuarial investigation of the cost of the proposed system, which the bureau had in the meanwhile prepared. The legislature passed the bill as it did last year, with the policemen and firemen, included, and the governor approved it, satisfied this time that it will be of benefit not only to the city, and clerical forces but also to the policemen and firemen. The mayor, after a thorough consideration of the various phases of the measure signed it.

The new fund will include all city employees except teachers and such policemen and firemen now in the service as may choose to remain under

the provisions of the old non contributory laws. The employees will contribute 4 per cent of their salaries. This will provide them at age 60 a certain annuity. The city will add to this at the same age a pension of equal amount. It will also make up the contributions with interest which it and the employee would have contributed in the past had the system been then in operation, and provide such an additional pension as these contributions will purchase. Benefits in case of disability, death and withdrawal from service are also provided. The system is to operate on a strictly reserve basis. It is not necessary here to enter into details, as these will be found discussed in the article in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW of August, 1921, and in the report on Pensions in Public Employment which appeared as the April issue of the REVIEW.

The significance of this enactment is not merely of local character. It is practically the first precedent in this country of a sound pension system covering the policemen and firemen. The only other instance which comes any where near this case is the police and firemen's fund of Milwaukee. Its provisions, however, are rather over liberal and so costly to the city that few municipalities, will find it possible to follow this example. New York city and New Jersey have tried for many years to bring policemen and firemen under a sound system, but failed at every attempt against the powerful opposition which the police and firemen's associations were able to marshal in the legislatures.

PAUL STUDENSKY.



New Retirement Act Gives Good Results.—In view of the growing appreciation on the part of employers, both public and private, of the wisdom and justice of retiring their superannuated employees on a reasonable pension, the testimony as to the operation of the Federal Retirement Act recently gathered by the United States civil service commission should be received with interest. The testimony consists of replies to four specific questions on the success of the Retirement Act that had been previously forwarded by the civil service commission to the

head of all of the departments and bureaus and independent establishments in Washington. The commission asked as to the effect of the system on turn-over, efficiency and morale, number of positions, and opportunities for promotion.

On account of the natural shrinkage of some of the organization units following the war and the general policy of retrenchment of the past year and one half, the testimony submitted by the administrative officials as to turn-over and the influence of retirements on the number of positions was necessarily inconclusive. But there was no lack of evidence and it appears to be quite unanimous concerning the favorable effects on the quality of the work; the efficiency of the employees and their attitude toward their duties. The most sweeping statement on these matters is made by the head of one of the older bureaus in which 140 employees were retired at the very outset, *i.e.*, when the act became operative in August, 1921. In the excerpts cited by the civil service commission the head of this organization, the commissioner of pensions, states that "the retirement system has unquestionably resulted in increased opportunity for promotion, and because of this opportunity there now exists a new spirit, a spirit of hopefulness among the younger and middle aged employees which has taken the place of the lethargy which permeated many branches of the service before the retirement law became effective." The commissioner further refers to the beneficial effects derived from younger employees in the bureau, which, taken together with the advantages just mentioned, led to a "rejuvenation" of the organization.

The civil service commission has performed a worth-while service by bringing together in its compact little bulletin (August, 1922) the judgment and opinion of responsible government officials on the workings of a retirement policy. They have seen its immediate results at first hand and because of the size and age of many of the organizations in the federal government they have seen how it works on a large scale. Their comments are valid arguments for the establishment of an official retirement scheme to supplant the present policy, obtaining in so many jurisdictions, of continuing the aged employees on the payrolls after their period of usefulness has passed. Although not designated as such, this is a type of pension system and undeniably the most costly now in operation.

W. E. MOSHER.

Progress Reported in Solving New York's Traction Tangle.—Shortly upon the heels of the injunction restraining the operation of Mayor Hylan's buses as being beyond the legal powers of the city, comes the announcement of a plan looking to the reorganization of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and guaranteeing the five cent fare.

As is generally known, the city administration had been supervising the operation of numerous buses as feeders to elevated and subway lines which, according to the mayor's estimates haul 200,000 persons daily. Their continued operation has been enjoined and an appeal to the governor to call a special session of the legislature to empower the city to operate them was denied. Naturally enough, the governor took the ground that the mayor should look for relief to the transit commission, now authorized by law to compose New York's traction difficulties. Opposition to this commission has been one of the strongest political weapons which a versatile mayor has utilized, but the governor now advises him to counsel with it since it has all possible legal power to give New York a unified transportation system.

The announcement, therefore, by the transit commission that the consent of the necessary number of security holders to a plan which guarantees a five cent fare and paves the way to a unified traction system strengthens the governor's position to the discomfiture of the mayor. The latter has been quick to catch on however, and now claims that the new plan was originated by him.

In brief, it provides for doing away with the Interborough Consolidated Holding Company with its excessive issues of securities and for the modification of the troublesome Manhattan elevated lease, by which excessive rentals have been paid for use of the elevated properties, so as practically to cut apart the elevated road's finances from the Interborough. Moreover, a plan for public representation on the directorate has been accepted by the security holders involved. Certain members of the directorate are to be chosen by the transit commission and the city by means of a voting trust.

\$114,000,000 worth of securities are wiped out by the demise of the Interborough Holding Corporation, and the \$35,000,000 worth of stock of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. (the operating company) will be held by the stockholders. The fixed rentals on the almost obsolete elevated

properties are eliminated. Rentals for these are now payable only out of earnings and only in case dividends are paid to the stockholders of the operating company. The I. R. T. stock is to pay no dividends for five years and then never in excess of seven per cent. Notes for \$10,500,000 are to be issued for new equipment and improvements.

At this writing the plan prepared by a bondholders' committee, representing an overwhelming majority of the security holders, remains to be approved formally by the transit commission. Announcement of it, however, came through the commission and it is indicated that it is in line with the wishes of that body. Threat of a receivership seems to have been the strongest weapon waged by the commission.



Chicago School Board Members Indicted for Graft.—Chief Justice McKinley of the criminal court, Cook county, Illinois, continued for the October term the special grand jury that had been investigating the Chicago school board scandal. This marked the beginning of the fifth month of continuous and searching inquiry.

A widespread feeling that the June grand jury attempted to whitewash the school situation aroused the public to indignant protests with the result that the court instructed the July grand jury to re-open the investigation. Since then over forty indictments have been returned, true bills having been found against a score or more school trustees and employees, city hall attachés, politicians, and business men. Malfeasance, embezzlement, and conspiracy to defraud are among the serious crimes charged.

Among the persons already indicted are Edwin S. Davis and Albert H. Severinghaus, school trustees and former president and vice-president of the school board; William A. Bither, attorney of the board; Charles J. Forsberg, business manager of the board; Patrick H. Moynihan, member of the Illinois Commerce Commission; Louis Piquett, city prosecutor; Thomas Fitzgerald, of the Fitzgerald Boiler Works; Charles Ward, city hall politician and attorney for the Fitzgerald Boiler Works; J. A. Hock, president of the Wisconsin Lime and Cement Company; and a dozen or more school board employees including Charles Driscoll and Joseph Spain, officials of the organizations of engineer-custodians.

The transactions for which these men are be-

ing held responsible involve, among other things, suspicious real estate deals; padding of the pay-rolls; manipulating bids through shadow companies; paying \$418,000 for boilers that could have been bought for \$110,000; favoritism in letting contracts; destroying property and removing fixtures to make way for unnecessary repairs and new supplies; short-weighting coal deliveries; dishonesty in printing; the taking of bribes; insurance gouging; and creating a shortage in school moneys running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars.



Ashtabula Takes Over Street Railway.—The city of Ashtabula has recently purchased and taken over for operation the street railway system at an original cost of \$150,000 plus \$85,000 which is being spent immediately for new equipment and repairs to track and overhead. Of the purchase amount, \$82,000 was needed to settle first mortgage bonds and accrued interest, and the balance was employed to pay judgments, taxes, miscellaneous claims and second mortgage bonds. It is understood that the second mortgage bond holders accepted 6 cents on the dollar. The financial disaster of the company can be traced to local agitation against increase of fares during the war period. This undoubtedly ruined the car company and brought about subsequent sale to the city.

By the time this appears in print, the line will have been overhauled and new cars put in use. The administration of the car system is in the hands of the division of street railways in the city manager's department. The entire staff of the private company was continued as the operating force for the city.

Ashtabula has operated her own electric light plant for about thirty years, and under city manager government feels confident that the operation of her street railway system will be a success. A new municipal electric plant is soon to be put in operation which will furnish current for the street car system. An automobile bus system is being added as a feeder to the electric lines. For the time being the 8 cent fare with free transfers, which the company finally secured, is being continued. Later when the cost of electric current from the municipal plant is determined, a readjustment will be made in the fare. A school children's rate of twenty five tickets for a dollar was, however, immediately introduced.

Items of Civic Interest.—*Civic Information Bureau:* Attention is called to the fact that members in the American Civic Association are entitled to the service of the civic information bureau. Specific questions will be answered and information concerning local practices will be secured for members on request. It is hoped that members will make the fullest use of this service.

Watch Service—Members are also reminded that the American Civic Association is representing their interests in the national parks and forests by maintaining a watch service in Washington. The secretary is always glad to answer questions concerning status of pending bills and executive acts and to indicate to individual members and organizations how they can help protect their national property.

City Planning—Reprints have been made of Dr. Strayer's talk on "The School Building Program—An Important Part of the City Plan," which was given at the City Planning Conference in Springfield, Mass. Copy will be sent on request to the American Civic Association.

Billboards—The Indiana highway commission has ruled that sign boards along the roads obstruct the view of the automobilist, as well as other travelers and therefore increase the hazard at crossings. An order was issued by the commission in July of 1921 directing owners to remove signs within the year. The commission is now proceeding to clear away those signs which owners have neglected to remove. About one million advertising signs have been removed from the state highways in Indiana during the past year and it is announced that the work will be continued until all billboards are down. Good work in Indiana!

HARLEAN JAMES.



Proposed Charter Changes in San Francisco and Los Angeles.—The citizens of these two cities will be called upon November 7 to vote upon some highly significant charter changes. In San Francisco a far reaching civil service amendment has been drafted by a special committee which includes William H. Nanry, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, and Paul Eliel, former director of the same bureau. The effect of the amendment will be to place in the classified service many offices such as auditor, assessor, county clerk, city attorney, sheriff, treasurer and tax collector which have heretofore

been elected. This will result in a shortening of the ballot and a removal of purely technical positions from politics. The civil service commission is given additional powers and duties. Salary standardization is required and transfers between departments are authorized. Discharge by the appointing power is provided after the accused has been given an opportunity to answer charges. The commission is authorized to establish training forces for persons on the eligible register or in service.

Los Angeles voters will pass upon a wide range of amendments, chiefly among which are ones providing proportional representation for the election of fifteen members of the city council, a pension system for all city employees, and an increase of the salaries of the mayor and council.

The proportional representation plan is presented to offset another proposal for district representation in the election of the city council, one member from each district.



Attempt to Recall Mayor Kohler of Cleveland.

—An attempt, so far unsuccessful, has been made to order a recall election for Mayor Kohler who assumed office last January and is to serve until the new city manager charter goes into effect. A minority candidate in the last mayoralty campaign recently circulated petitions which, when filed, were seen to contain only about 7000 names, which is less than half the number required by the charter. Under the charter provision an additional twenty days may be allowed if the number of signers to a recall petition are found to be insufficient, and the enemies of Mr Kohler proceeded to secure more signatures which brought the total well over the 15,000 names required. The city clerk, however, announced that he would not examine the validity of the additional names on the ground that the original petition had not been filed in good faith and in this he has been sustained by the law director. For the time being at least the movement to recall "Golden Rule" Kohler has been defeated.



Kansas City to Make Cash Payments for Improvements.—A plan to eliminate the excessive cost of public improvements is occupying the attention of the commission drafting a new charter for Kansas City. It will substitute cash payments for improvements in place of the present antiquated and expensive tax bill system.

At present contractors for grading, paving, sewerage construction, etc., are paid in tax bills, payable in installments running over a period of years. These tax bills are payable out of special assessments levied against the property benefited. Because the courts may decide later that the tax bills are invalid for one reason or another they are accepted by the contractors only at a discount which may be as much as 25 per cent. Thus a heavy and needless burden is imposed upon the public.

The plan proposed in the new charter is to have assessments levied and judicially confirmed before the improvement is begun. The council thereupon may authorize the issuance of local improvement certificates for an amount not exceeding the special assessments outstanding, and the proceeds from same will be paid into a revolving fund out of which shall be paid in cash the cost of local improvements. In this way partial payment of special assessments can be continued.



Chicago Citizens Advised to Oust Council.—The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, which for more than a quarter of a century has been protecting the people of that city against incompetent and dishonest officials, has sent out a call to the people to supplant the present aldermen with more vigorous citizens referring to certain present members as grafters and others as weak and wabbly. Particularly, the League attacks waste of public moneys in foreign junkets, the wanton smashing of good school furniture so as to enable purchase at rising prices, the "pinching off" of a percentage on purchases for the school board and a trick by which several so called real estate experts abstracted \$3,000,000 from city funds which should have been devoted to carrying out the Chicago plan.

The new fifty ward law, which changed the political landscape by breaking up many political combines, is said to give independent citizens a rare opportunity; and the League makes a strong plea that independent groups in each ward start fit candidates in the race for aldermen at the election this fall.



Two Home Rule County Charters in New York State.—The charter commissions appointed to prepare plans for the reorganization of the county governments in Westchester and Nassau

counties pursuant to a constitutional amendment approved last fall, have now reached a point in their deliberations at which it is possible to anticipate some of their conclusions.

Both counties adjoin New York city, one on Long Island and the other to the north. Nassau is a county of 274 square miles and about 135,000 inhabitants. It is fairly evenly settled, has three large townships, a number of incorporated and unincorporated villages, two of which masquerade as cities. One of the cities has less than 10,000 inhabitants, the other is a beach which has a few thousand inhabitants in summer and almost none in winter. The charter revision commission under the direction of an able and independent chairman has decided upon the transfer of a number of township functions to the county. The townships will, however, be retained as trustees of town property, for certain road building purposes and for the supervision of certain other public works and services. The justices of the peace will be absorbed into a new full time inferior court of county-wide jurisdiction under assignment by the county judge. The vacancies on the town boards created by the removal of the justices of the peace will be filled by town trustees, elected for overlapping terms and paid only for actual days of service.

All of the executive functions of the town are to be placed under a supervisor-at-large who will preside over the Board of Supervisors. The present six supervisors will be retained but a change will be made in the voting power so that the largest township will not control the board as at present. There will be a county health department, a county police department, a county department of taxation and assessment, and one of welfare and charities in addition to the county engineer's department which will be developed into a department of public works. A tentative agreement has been reached upon a flat county education tax which will, of course, necessitate some kind of county school authority. A tentative agreement has also been reached on a county zoning authority which will zone the rural territories and will review village zoning plans to see that they conform to a central county plan. In general, the village governments are not disturbed, but the commission is attempting to find some unit of government between the township and the village for public service and utility purposes which will be effective to prevent the further multiplication of village governments and special districts.

Westchester county is a territory of some 450 square miles with the population estimated at approximately 375,000. It has four cities of respectable size, including Yonkers which has over 100,000 inhabitants, many villages and eighteen townships. Its board of supervisors has 41 members. It is obvious that the problem of governmental co-ordination in Westchester is a great deal more complicated than the problem in Nassau. The Westchester county government commission has proceeded slowly. It is a large commission with representatives of a number of diverse elements and groups in the county. While the majority of members belong to the dominant Republican party which is normally directed by a very able county leader, the subject of county reorganization has brought into play differences of opinion which have nothing or very little to do with party politics. For this reason, apparently, and because the support of the minority party and the independents will be required, there has been a good deal less leadership and drive in the commission than might be expected.

The most important report which has been made so far, is that of the committee on the form of county government. This committee has recommended a single county commissioner with a four-year term, elected at large, to be in charge of all the executive machinery. The board of supervisors is to be a purely legislative body.

There is also to be a board of estimate controlled by the county commissioner which is to consist of the commissioner, two of his appointees, namely, the county attorney and county engineer, the chairman of the board of supervisors who is to be elected at large, and the county comptroller also elected at large. This board will have complete control over the preparation of the budget, over salaries and positions, over franchises, and the incurring of all debts. The board of supervisors may reduce, but not increase the budget and will have no control over salaries and positions. Considerable opposition has already been manifested to this plan, particularly on the ground that too much power is concentrated in the commissioner and that the board of estimate is not likely to function publicly. It seems likely that some changes will be made, especially in the board of estimate and possibly in the direction of insuring minority representation. There is considerable sentiment in the county and in the commission in favor of a small council elected by proportional representation, which will in turn select a county manager. It is, however, unlikely that this plan will be recommended, and it is only fair to say that it would be unlikely that so novel a proposal would win a popular majority at this time along with all the other changes in the county organization.

ROBERT MOSES.

II. CITY MANAGER NOTES

City Manager Elections.—Elections on the adoption of city manager government are being held in Utica, New York, Hudson, New York, Stockton, California, Santa Rosa, California, Augusta, Georgia, Cordelia, Georgia, and Beverly, Massachusetts.

✦

Recent Adoptions include Tulare, California, and Heavener, Oklahoma; Avon Park, Florida, and Red Oak, Iowa, have adopted the plan by ordinance. On October 4, the plan was defeated in North Attleboro, Massachusetts.

✦

C. M. Osborn, manager of East Cleveland ever since the adoption of the city manager form there five years ago, has resigned to accept the managership of Kenosha, Wisconsin. Charles A. Carran, formerly director of finance under Mr. Osborn, has been appointed to succeed him.

4

Montana will vote at the November election on an amendment to the state constitution authorizing city county consolidation. The impetus is coming from Butte which is anxious to consolidate with Silver Bow county under the manager plan.

✦

The Lynchburg (Va.) "News," published by Carter Glass, is enthusiastic over the showing made by the city administration under Manager Beck. During the past two years an extensive street improvement program has been financed by current revenues. In this period the city's liquid assets have increased \$1,150,000.

✦

In the Referendum recently conducted by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce on the question whether cities of more than 5,000 population should have the power to adopt city manager

government, thirty cities out of thirty-two voted in the affirmative. In twenty-four cities an actual poll of the membership of the chamber was taken and only one returned a majority in the negative. In nine organizations the vote was cast by the directors and again only one cast a majority for the negative.



Movement to Repeal Nashville Charter.—A charter framing committee, which was appointed by the mayor of Nashville, Tennessee, has completed a draft of a new charter, which, if adopted by the legislature, would mean a return to the old aldermanic form of government with all its boards and a council of twenty-five.

The city has operated under the present charter, which was ratified by the state legislature, since February, 1921. Of the fifteen councilmen elected under it thirteen are said to have won by large majorities because they were openly pledged to the appointment of Felix Wilson for mayor, who frankly states that he was made mayor because of his opposition to the charter. Mr. Wilson contends that by calling for an open de-

claration of council candidates, the political machine then in control of the administration was prevented from gaining control of the new instrument of government.

The present charter is a distinctive one. It specifically provides that the mayor "shall be a full time officer, appointed by the council for an indefinite period, subject to removal by the council, shall be designated mayor, shall have all the powers and duties of a business manager, and have supervision and control of all of the administrative affairs of the city." Responsibility is centralized further than in the commonly adopted city manager charter in that the mayor appoints not only all department heads, but the city clerk, treasurer, judge, attorney and board of education.

In the recent election for members of the legislature the entire ticket advocating the repeal of the present charter and return to the old aldermanic government, was elected by a very substantial majority, indicating that this majority favored a return to the aldermanic government with an elected mayor, city judge, board of public works, and council of twenty-five members.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Death of Lieut.-Com. C. P. Shaw.—In the death of Commander Shaw civic reform loses a staunch advocate. He died on April 26 after a life of great usefulness to the public. His particular interests were the short ballot, proportional representation and civil service reform. Many came to look upon him as the official collector of data and compiler of information regarding reform movements in municipal government.

Commander Shaw served in the navy for twenty years. His own city, Norfolk, and the state of Virginia are indebted to him for much that is modern in their municipal life.



Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, public utility consultant, has moved his main office from New York to 436 Crescent Street, Grand Rapids, Michigan. In announcing the change, he declares his belief that there is no solution of the utility problem consistent with public interest except in public ownership and operation. He is accordingly building up a staff specially equipped to assist cities in acquiring and operating their utilities. The requisite services which cities will need and

which he will be prepared to offer include general surveys, preparation of legislative measures, studies of transportation needs in relation to city planning, preparation of plans and estimates for new utilities, help in negotiation of contracts, estimates on costs of operation, etc.

Cities desiring to own and operate their utilities now have available the services of an experienced consultant and staff whole-heartedly committed to public operation who are specializing in this particular form of service.



Charter Makers Divorce Morals from Business.—The board of freeholders, which is framing the Stockton, California, home rule charter, announce that they intend to divorce the managing of the business affairs of the city from the handling of moral questions, by removing the police department and the chief from supervision by the manager and empowering the chief to attend to all moral and criminal matters. It was pointed out by a local attorney that, no matter how excellent a manager might be as a business executive, a situation might arise wherein the

council would have to remove him if he were not efficient in enforcing moral laws. Thus the city would lose a good man.

Whether the city manager will be expected to ignore morals in the management of the city's affairs has not been stated by the charter commission.



Engineering Societies' Employment Service.—

The four National Engineering Societies consisting of The American Society of Civil Engineers, The American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, The American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and The American Institute of Electrical Engineers are developing along interesting lines. One of these activities comprises the employment service, better known as the Engineering Societies' Employment Service, which is tending toward a national clearing house for engineers, from the highest paid executive to the man just out of college.

The administration of the service is in charge of Mr. W. V. Brown, 29 West 39th Street, New York, who will be glad to help you get in touch with the engineers you are looking for.



The American Society for Municipal Improvement held its twenty-eighth annual convention in Cleveland last month. Prominent subjects on the program included specifications for street paving, sewer specifications, water supply and transportation. The Ohio State Conference on City Planning met jointly with the society.



Civic Club Manages Summer Band Concerts for Pittsburgh.—Following violent protests against the quality of music provided the city of Pittsburgh at the summer concerts, the Civic

Club of Alleghany County was delegated by the administration to manage the concerts with a view to improving the conditions complained of. By reducing the number of bands and increasing their size, by careful attention to expenditures, by introduction of better programs, and in numerous other ways, the concerts were made more attractive to larger audiences with distinct improvement in their cultural influences.



Dublin Pushing City Plan.—The Civics Institute of Ireland was founded in 1913 to promote civic surveys, improved administration and city planning in Dublin. In 1916 it awarded a prize of £500 for the best town plan for that city. Now with the realization of the Irish Free State, the Civics Institute has resumed activity. To frustrate bad housing conditions and haphazard growth of a reconstructed Dublin, the Institute is beginning a campaign of publicity on what city planning means with respect to the economic and health interests of the people.

We wish them great success and will watch future developments with keen interest.



The Canadian Municipal Journal has been incorporated with the *Municipal Review of Canada* under the management of Harry Bray, who founded the former journal in 1905 and left it to take charge of the department of municipal affairs of the Repatriation Committee. The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW extends cordial fraternal greetings to the new Review.



Correction.—The reviewer of William Bassett's pamphlet, *The Board of Appeals in Zoning*, in the September REVIEW, was Robert H. Whitten and not Robert H. White as was printed.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., OF NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW Published monthly at Concord, N. H., required by the Act of August 24, 1912.

NAME OF STOCKHOLDERS OR OFFICERS

Editor
Harold W. Dodds
Managing Editor (none)
Business Manager (none)

POST OFFICE ADDRESS

261 Broadway
New York

Publisher, The National Municipal League { Rumford Building, Concord, N. H.
261 Broadway, New York

Owners (if a corporation, give names and addresses of stockholders holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock). The National Municipal Review is published by the National Municipal League, a voluntary association, unincorporated. The officers of the National Municipal League are H. M. Waite, President; Carl H. Pforzheimer, Treasurer, and H. W. Dodds, Secretary.
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H. W. DODDS, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1922.

HENRY J. WEHLE,

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